

SEDER R. AMRAM GAON

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PART I

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL APPARATUS

TRANSLATION WITH NOTES AND

INTRODUCTION

BY

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TO MY WIFE

Foreword.

Professor HUGO ODEBERG in his inaugural lecture—published in *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 1934, and later his book “*Tillbaka till Bibeln*”—gave clear evidence that it is essential to be familiar with Jewish prayer if one is rightly to understand the New Testament teaching on prayer. It was this statement which originally awakened my interest in the study of Jewish prayer and the Synagogue service.

When I consulted Professor Odeberg later as to the choice of a subject for my thesis, he proposed that I should give myself to research on *Seder R. Amram*. I am very grateful to him for that suggestion, for this book, which is the oldest Jewish prayer-book, is peculiarly appropriate for the study of Jewish prayer. In general, it contains the prayers in the oldest form to which we have access, and it gives the most important rules regarding prayers and liturgies.

It has been a signal privilege to have had the benefit of Professor Odeberg's suggestions and to have been able to profit by his eminent erudition in all that concerns the Jewish religion, not least its prayers and services. It is now my very pleasant duty to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Professor Odeberg, and to express to him the warmth of my gratitude.

I also wish to express my grateful thanks to Dr. KURT WILHELM, the Chief Rabbi of Sweden, for much valuable advice and information, not least for many helpful references to literature with which he has supplied me. He has also been kind enough to look through my manuscript.

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My thanks are due to The Bodleian Library in Oxford, The British Museum in London, and The Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, for their

courtesy in placing at my disposal photographic reproductions of the manuscripts of *Seder R. Amram*.

I gratefully acknowledge the help given by Miss J. GUINNESS B. A. in making suggestions for the improvement of the language of the English section of my work, and for her assistance in proofreading.

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I also wish to thank my Swedish printer, BRÖDERNA BORGSTRÖMS AB, Motala.

Not least, though last, I thank my wife for help in countless ways and for her unfailing encouragement.

Tuddarp, Motala, March 1951.

David Hedegård.

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INTRODUCTION

I.

The New Testament and the Synagogue Service.

The object of this study is to make a contribution towards the fuller understanding of Jewish prayer as a background to the study of prayer in the New Testament.

Jewish prayer is primarily the prayer of the synagogue service. The Jew was to pray, if possible, in the synagogue¹⁾ , and the prayers had been formulated by the sages of long ago. The study of Jewish prayer is then first and foremost a study of the synagogue service.

Jewish scholars have sometimes brought forward the objection against Christian theologians, that they neglected the study of the Jewish liturgy, although it is essential in order to understand the Judaism of the time of Christ.²⁾

Nowadays this accusation is not quite justifiable, for Christian scholars have made a detailed survey of the synagogue service³⁾ , and students of primitive Christian liturgy have sought to show how much of the Jewish service was preserved in the earliest Christian liturgies⁴⁾.

This connection between the prayers of the synagogue and the early Christian liturgy is of great importance, but a still more essential theme to those who approach this subject might be formulated in the question: What is the Jewish conception of prayer? or, to state it more exactly, What did the Jews of Christ's day think about prayer?

¹⁾ Bacher points out that an early Tannaite, Eliezer b. Jacob (1st. Cent. A. D.), introduces his pronouncement on prayer with the exhortation to pray in the synagogue (cf. HDB, IV, 642). There are many Talmudic dicta to the same effect (cf. HDB, ibid., and below, p. 80).

²⁾ "Yet the Jewish Liturgy is the one branch of religious literature generally neglected by Christian scholars." Hertz, IX. Cf. Schechter: Selected Essays, 52.

³⁾ Older literature mentioned in the art. "Synagogen", PRE³, 19, p. 223, cf. too the art. "Gottesdienst, synagogaler", in the same encyclopedia, 7, p. 7—19. Among newer literature special mention may be made of Oesterley-Box: The religion and the worship of the synagogue, London 1911; Billerbeck, IV, 115—249; Dalman: Jesus—Jeschua, 35 ff.

⁴⁾ Cf. e. g. Oesterley: The Jewish background of the Christian liturgy, Oxford 1925; Dugmore: The influence of the synagogue upon the divine office, Oxford 1944.

It must, however, be admitted that New Testament scholars have often treated Jewish

The question is especially important because Christ's teaching regarding prayer is sometimes given in opposition to the prayer of the Pharisees⁵⁾. For this reason a knowledge of what the Jews thought about prayer in His time and how they prayed is of great significance.

There is, moreover, another reason why the study of the service of the synagogue is important to the student of the New Testament, namely the attitude of Christ and of the early Christian church to this service. We often read in the Gospels of Christ being present in the synagogue⁶⁾, and of how the Jewish Christians took part in the synagogue services until they were driven out⁷⁾. The significant thing to observe here, as Professor Hugo Odeberg has pointed out⁸⁾, is that although Christ strongly opposed the Pharisees, he is never reported to have said anything against the synagogue service^{8a)}. Far from this being the case, as we have said, he used to take part in

prayer and the Synagogue service in an unsatisfactory manner. Billerbeck may be quoted as an example. His record of the Synagogue service contains only an account of the *Shema* and the *Tefilla*. When he gives the prayer texts belonging to the *Shema* (I, 398; IV, 193 f.) he does not refer to the sources where he has taken them. He gives *Josèr* or "nach Ausscheidung seiner jüngeren Bestandteile", but without giving his reasons for considering some parts of this prayer as later additions. He gives *Emeth wejassib* in I, 398 and again in IV, 193. In the latter place he puts the first part of the prayer in brackets, in accordance with Zunz. (Zunz thinks that this part of *Emeth wejassib* is a later addition, cf. Zunz, GV, 383).

When Billerbeck gives the grace before and after meals (IV, 628, 631—632), he only copies the *Siddur Sefath Emeth* (Rödelheim 1886). A number of examples of NT scholars who have proceeded in a similar manner might be named. Instead of endeavouring to present a Jewish prayer in its earliest accessible form, they only quote a present day Jewish prayer book.

⁵⁾ Cf. Matt. 6:5—7.

⁶⁾ Mark 1:21; 6:2; Matt. 4:23 etc.

⁷⁾ "The early Christians took part in the Jewish services of the synagogue (Acts 9:20; 13:5; 13:14 seq.), and in doing so they followed the example of Jesus (Matt. 13:54; Mark 1:21; 3:1; 4:16 ff. etc.). The main elements of the Jewish service became in consequence the pattern of the form of public service used in the Christian churches, even in cases where the Christian church had been put out of the synagogue." (Odeberg: Kristus och Skriften, 44.)

Works on early Christian liturgy usually observe as a matter of course that the public Christian service "was itself merely a continuation of the service of the synagogue" (The Catholic Encyclopaedia, IX, 307). "Wie die christliche Gemeinde als Ganzes, so ist auch der christliche Gottesdienst aus der jüdischen Synagoge hervorgewachsen" (RGG², II, 1339). Cf. Eisenhofer: Handbuch der katolischen Liturgik, I, 24; Dugmore, 2 ff.; Srawley: The early history of liturgy, 34; Christian worship. Studies in its history . . . edited by N. Micklem, 35 ff.; 85; 91.

⁸⁾ Cf. Erevna, VII, 173.

^{8a)} Fridrichsen (STK, X, 134) considers that John the Baptist's prayer (Luke

it. The attitude of the early Christian church to the synagogue service was clearly taken from the attitude which Christ himself had shown towards it. The early Christians took it for granted that Christ had approved this service as being the legitimate divine service. It must have been for this reason that they formed a service which was in accordance with that of the synagogue when they were driven out of the synagogues of the Jews.

From the New Testament it is evident that the synagogue as a religious institution played a central rôle in the life of Israel, both in Palestine and in the diaspora⁹). At that time it was even thought to have a Mosaic origin¹). It must at any rate have existed centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. This implies that the principal traits of the synagogue service had been fixed long before the first century A. D.²) It is not necessary to give a detailed proof of these statements; it is enough to point out that the Mishna speaks of various parts of the synagogue service as divine institutions³), and mentions the names of several prayers⁴). These two facts serve to show that the essential traits of the service were of ancient date at the time when the Mishna came into existence⁵).

11:1) "has intended to replace the usual set Jewish prayer. In the then existing eschatological situation, the Baptist felt the insufficiency of the Jewish prayer, and on that account substituted another. We must count with an analogous possibility regarding the Lord's prayer."

"The usual set Jewish prayer", here referred to by Fridrichsen, is of course the *Tefilla* (cf. ibid., 131). There is, however, no reason whatever to infer that John the Baptist and Christ wished to replace with a new prayer this Jewish prayer, since in their day a private individual was not bound to pray the *Tefilla*. This obligation only concerned the Synagogue service, even in the 1st century A. D., but not the individual Israelite who was prevented from taking part in the service. Rabban Gamaliel II (nasi of the sanhedrin at Jabne and the head of the Jewish community in Palestine from 80 to 110 A. D.) ordained that each individual was obligated to say this prayer (cf. below, pp. 72, 111, and Elb. 255). Before this time individual pious persons may have prayed a *Tefilla* in their domestic worship (cf. Elb. 255), but there existed no prescriptions as regards the form or content of a private *Tefilla*.

⁹) Cf. e. g. the passages referred to in foot-notes 5—6; Acts 15:21 etc.

¹⁾ Cf. Elb., 245.

²⁾ Cf. below, p. XXVII ff.

³⁾ Cf. MBer. I, III (the duty to recite the *Shema*), MBer. IV (the duty to say the *Tefilla*). A man is obliged to recite the *Shema* and to say the *Tefilla* which implies that these two acts of divine service are commanded by God.

Ratcliff remarks aptly: "In the mind of those who offered it, the synagogue service was no mere humanly devised substitute for the divinely instituted order of the Temple. It was a true worship, inspired by God, according to his will and pleasing to him" (Ratcliff: Christian worship and liturgy, in The study of theology . . . edited by K. E. Kirk, p. 412).

⁴⁾ E. g. the names of different *berakot* of the *Tefilla*, cf. Elb., 43 ff.

⁵⁾ "Für die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes ist die Mischna als eine späte Quelle anzusehen, selbst in ihren ältesten Teilen zeigt sie die Entwicklung in einem schon weit vor-

There is, thus, a third reason why the student of the New Testament ought to know the synagogue service: As the synagogue was the real center of the religious life of the Jews in the time of Christ, the men who listened to His teaching had received their religious instruction in the synagogue and regularly attended its services. They knew the prayers and the Scripture passages belonging to the synagogue service.⁶⁾ Thus the synagogue service forms an important part of the background of the teaching of Jesus.

As already pointed out above the synagogue service was an old institution in the time of Christ. But neither Philo nor Josephus nor the Mishna nor the Talmud fully describe the synagogue service, nor do they give the text of the prayers. The initial words of the basic prayers ("die Stammgebete") are often mentioned in the Mishna⁷⁾ and in the Talmud, but the complete text is not given. The prayers were handed down from one generation to the next by oral tradition. In the Talmudic times it was forbidden to write down the text of the prayers⁸⁾. Prayer-books did not come into existence until the Gaonic times⁹⁾. The oldest of them is compiled by R. Amram bar Sheshna, gaon in Sura in the ninth century A. D.

geschrittenen Stadium, die Grundformen, der Aufbau des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes sind bereits abgeschlossen und haben im wesentlichen dieselbe Gestalt wie heute. Und doch muss eine lange und nicht immer friedliche Bewegung voraufgegangen sein, ehe es zu einer derartigen Befestigung der Einrichtungen kommen konnte. Am Beginne unserer Zeitrechnung bilden der Gottesdienst und die Hauptgebete den Gegenstand schulmässiger Erörterung, sie haben den Charakter des Selbstverständlichen und Unbefangenen eingebüsst, die Formen sind derart eingebürgert, dass sie lehrhaft werden, ihre Berechtigung, ihre Anwendbarkeit, die Möglichkeit und Zulässigkeit von Abweichungen werden studiert, von den Theologen besprochen, sogar schon kasuistisch behandelt. Der Gottesdienst ist allgemein bekannt, zu einer so verbreiteter Sitte geworden, dass er als uralte mosaische Institution gilt, als solche sehen ihn Philo und Josephus ebensowohl an, wie die Autoritäten des Talmuds. An seiner Berechtigung und Verbindlichkeit wird auf keiner Seite gezweifelt, alle Richtungen, soweit sie sonst auch auseinandergehen, sind in diesem Punkte einig; überall wo Juden wohnen, finden auch regelmässig gottesdienstliche Versammlungen statt." Elb., 245.

⁶⁾ "Der Gottesdienst hat das gesamte Volk gewonnen, er beherrscht das ganze Leben. Nicht nur, dass zur Gebetstunde das Gotteshaus aufgesucht wird, die Handwerker und Arbeiter unterbrechen ihre Arbeit und beten (Ber. II, 4), man betet auf Wanderschaft, manche Leute lieben es, an den Ecken, auf den Gassen zu stehen und öffentlich zu beten (Matt. 6:5)." Elb., 246.

⁷⁾ Cf. Elb., 43 ff.

⁸⁾ Cf. Elb., 7.

⁹⁾ Cf. Elb., 359 ff.

II.

The Babylonian Academies in Gaonic Times.

From the fourth century A. D. Babylonia became the chief centre of Jewish learning¹⁾, which flourished in the famous academies at Sura and Pumbeditha. The influence of the Palestinian academies gradually declined, and after the capture of Palestine by the Arabs in 638 A. D., they definitely lost their significance as the centre of the spiritual life of the Jewish people²⁾. But the Jews fared fairly well in Babylonia, especially after the Arab conquest of Palestine, and this tended to the prosperity of the academies there, so that they became the recognized religious authority throughout the whole diaspora³⁾. The heads of the academies were called *Geonim*⁴⁾. "They were the heads of a college of scholars and were recognized unreservedly in the whole diaspora as the highest instance for the settling of matters of dispute concerning the Talmudic law. It was the *Geonim* who gave the Talmudic law its full application to practical, everyday life"⁵⁾.

The Gaon, the president of the academy, was assisted by a teaching staff

¹⁾ The aim of this chapter is to give some information about the Babylonian academies in the Gaonic time in order to sketch the circumstances under which Amr. came into existence. The principal source regarding the history of the academies in the Gaonic time is *The Epistle of Sherira*. (Cf. Frankl: Quellen zur Geschichte der Geonim [in Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft, VI, 1908=5669, Frankfurt a. M., 1909], pp. 344—358.) As regards R. Sherira Gaon and his Epistle, cf. Lewin: Zur Charakteristik und Biographie des R. Sherira Gaon [ibid., VIII, 1910=5671, Frankfurt a. M., 1911], pp. 318—354. The Epistle of Sherira exists in two different versions, cf. Neubauer: Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles [in Anecdota Oxoniensa. Texts, Documents and Extracts chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries. Semitic series. Vol. I. Part IV. Oxford 1887], pp. VIII ff. The Epistle of Sherira has been frequently printed. The latest edition is that of Lewin (Iggeret R. Scherira Gaon in der französischen und spanischen Version, unter Benutzung aller Handschriften mit erläuterten Noten herausgegeben von Dr. Benjamin Lewin. Haifa 1921).

Of course many modern works on the Gaonic period exist, cf. e. g. the literature given in UJE, IV, 514.

²⁾ Cf. Dubnow, 377 ff.

³⁾ Cf. Ginzberg, GG, I, 4 ff.

⁴⁾ The word means "eminence", "excellency", and as a title of the president of the academy it may have originated from Ps. 47:5. Cf. UJE, IV, 513.

⁵⁾ Dubnow, 378. Cf. RaMBaM: Mishneh Torah, Introduction: the Geonim taught the method of the Talmud, elucidated its obscurities, and expounded the various topics with

consisting of the *Ab Bet Din*⁶), the chief judge, who was generally designated to be the successor of the Gaon. Below him were the seven heads of the teaching assembly, the *Reshe Kalla*⁷), and three who were called *Chaberim*, colleagues or scholars. These ten persons seem to have formed the narrower senate (the *Allufim*). Next to them there was a college consisting of a hundred members that represented the great Sanhedrin, and thirty who represented the little Sanhedrin. The academies were centres of learning and at the same time they were courts of law.

An important feature in their work as centres of learning was the institution called *Kalla*. In two months of the year, in Adar and Elul, students came from every part of the country to hear lectures and take examinations. The session was led by the gaon in his capacity of president of the academy. The members of the college sat before him in seven rows, ten of them in each row, and each according to his rank. The *Reshe Kalla* sat in the front row. Behind the members of the college sat the students. In the session one of the scholars in the front row would raise a question connected with the Talmud-tractate which had been studied in the previous month of *Kalla*. The question was first discussed by the scholars in the front row, afterwards by the other scholars, and lastly the president would sum up the discussion and give his verdict. Sometimes he himself would set forth a theme for debate which was first discussed by the scholars in the front row and afterwards by the other scholars. At the end of the *Kalla*-session assignments for home study for the next session were made. Questions received from the diaspora were discussed and decisions were recorded and despatched.

Thus the academies interpreted and developed the Talmudic law. They

which it deals. Some of them explained specific laws, others, particular chapters that presented difficulties to their contemporaries; others again expounded complete treatises and entire orders of the Talmud. They also made compilations of settled rules as to things permitted or forbidden, as to infractions which were penal or were not liable to penalty.

⁶) *Ab Bet Din*, "Father of the Court of Justice", in Mishnaic times the officer next in rank to the president of the synhedrion, cf. MTaan. II, 1; MHag. II, 2. In the Babylonian academies the *Ab Bet Din* was the deputy of the Gaon in the superintendence of the college of scholars, cf. Dubnow, 482.

An important source concerning the organization and function of the academies is the account of Nathan Ha-Babli, a historian who probably lived in Baghdad about 960 A.D. (cf. UJE, VIII, 106). The text has been edited by Neubauer (op. cit. Part VI, Oxford 1895, pp. 83—88). As regards this text and its author, cf. also Frankl: Quellen zur Geschichte der Geonim, op. cit., pp. 350 ff., and GG, I, 23—36.

⁷) The following account of the officers and work of the academies is given by Nathan Ha-Babli (cf. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 87). Cf. Graetz, 134 ff.

also attempted to systemize and codify the Talmudic law, an activity continued later by the great Jewish scholars in Europe in the Middle ages.

Questions were often directed to the academies from different parts of the diaspora. The questions always seem to have been answered by the *Geonim* in their capacity of presidents of the academies⁸⁾. Thus the answers were authoritative statements of the academies. When a Spanish congregation⁹⁾ asked the Gaon R. Amram to give them "the order of prayers and *berakot* for the whole year"¹⁾ they wanted the official pronouncement of the academy on this subject. And in the introduction to the *Seder* which he sent them R. Amram states that it is given "in accordance with the tradition which is in our possession, in conformity with the institution of the Tannaim and the Amoraim"¹⁾. Thus the *Seder R. Amram Gaon* is an official document of the academy at Sura, and all the tradition and learning of this academy is behind it.²⁾

⁸⁾ Cf. GG, I, 6 ff. As regards the Gaonic Responsa, cf. Müller: *Mafteach litshabot hageonim*, oder Einleitung in die Responsen der babylonischen Geonen (Berlin, 1891), and UJE, IX, 138.

⁹⁾ Cf. below, p. 3.

¹⁾ Cf. ch. Ia.

²⁾ The purpose of the Geonim was simply to explain the Talmud regardless of their own predilections. Ginzberg cites the following statement of R. Hai (the last Gaon of Pumbeditha, d. 1038): "Know that we are not, like some others, in the habit of explaining any matter apologetically, in contradiction to the real meaning of him from whom it proceeds. We will therefore expound to thee the opinion of the Tanna, his real meaning and his true purpose, without pledging ourselves for the correctness of the assertion made by him." Ginzberg adds that these words "characterize not only his [i. e. R. Hai's] own intellectual attitude, but also the spirit prevailing in the Academies so long as they remained untouched by alien influences" (GG, I, 200 f.).

III.

R. Amram Gaon and his Seder.

According to *The Epistle of R. Sherira* R. Amram held office as Gaon for eighteen years¹⁾. Little is known about his person and his career²⁾ but he was the author of a great many responsa³⁾ which are of historical interest.

The *Seder R. Amram* is, as we mentioned above, the first Jewish prayer-book⁴⁾, and because of that it is very important. It is the foundation of the Ashkenazic and the Sephardic rites⁵⁾, and it played an important rôle as "the prime source of quotation for all the halakic authorities of early and later times"⁶⁾.

The *Seder R. Amram* consists partly of prayers and partly of Halakic material. The Halakic dicta form a continuous chain accompanying the prayers.

R. Amram has divided his work into two parts. The first part contains prayers (and Halakic dicta) for week-days, and the second part the corresponding material for the Sabbath and the Festivals.

The present book only gives the first part of the work of R. Amram.

¹⁾ *The Epistle of Sherira*, ed. Neubauer, p. 39. He may have held office from the year 856 to 874 (cf. JE, V, 571), but there are differing opinions as regards the time of his gaonate, cf. EJ, II, 712.

²⁾ Sherira says that he was honoured with the title Gaon within the life-time of his teacher R. Natronai Gaon, but the sense of this passage in Sherira's Letter is not clear (cf. EJ, II, 712; JQR, N. S., XXXIII, p. 333).

³⁾ His responsa "cover all phases of Jewish law and custom: liturgy, the ceremonies, regulations for Sabbaths and holidays, dietary laws, marriage and civil law" (UJE, I, 282).

⁴⁾ It is the oldest known prayer-book. It seems probable that prayer-books existed earlier (cf. GG, I, 120 f.) but they are not preserved.

⁵⁾ Dubnow, 518.

⁶⁾ Schechter: Studies in Jewish Liturgy, Philadelphia 1930, p. 4. Schechter too quotes a responsum of R. Tam (Jacob b. Meir, a great Talmudic authority, head of the French school of Tosafists, d. 1171, cf. UJE, IX 48) who states: "He that is not versed in the Seder Rab Amram has no right to subvert the words of the ancients and their customs" (ibid., p. 5).

IV.

The MSS. and the Printed Editions of Seder R. Amram.

Four complete MSS. of Amr. are known. They are all described by Marx¹⁾. The Codex British Museum 613 (marked **M** by Marx) is the oldest of them, probably dating from 14—15th century. It is the foundation of Coronel's edition of Amr. of 1865. Marx rightly characterizes it as the worst of the MSS. The Codex 1095 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, (marked **O** by Marx) was, according to the epigraph of the copyist, completed on Jan. 3rd 1426. The copyist was "very ignorant" (Marx). The errors are numerous but they are partly corrected by a later hand²⁾. This MS. also has many additions from later times, e. g. from the Gaon R. Hai and the Gaon R. Saadja³. This MS. is the foundation of the edition by Frumkin, 1912. The Codex Sulzberger of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (marked **S** by Marx) was, as the copyist tells us in his epigraph, completed on Nov. 8th 1516. It became known by Marx' article. He justly describes it as the best of the MSS. On the whole it is well written but is not free from errors in writing.—One MS., the Codex British Museum 614, is only a copy of the MS. **O**.⁴⁾

Marx also examined a few Genizah-fragments of Amr.⁵⁾ which, from his account, are of little importance. In the present edition I have not used them. As far as I have been able to find out, no Genizah-fragments are mentioned in the library catalogues published later.⁶⁾

¹⁾ Marx: Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram (Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft, V, 1907—5668, Frankfurt a. M. 1907, pp. 341—366; and a Hebrew appendix, *Hosafot wetiqunim leSeder Rab Amram*, ibid., Hebrew part, pp. 1—38). The MSS. are described in the German part of the work, pp. 353 ff.

²⁾ Like Marx I follow the corrected text, cf. Marx, 358, foot-note 84.

³⁾ Cf. e. g. ch. II, XX.

⁴⁾ Marx, 359.

⁵⁾ Marx, 359 seqq.

⁶⁾ E. g. Halper: Descriptive catalogue of Genizah-fragments in Philadelphia. Publications of Dropsie college, 1927.

The Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry, of Jerusalem, was asked if there are any Geniza fragments of *Seder R. Amram*. Dr. M. Zulay answered (letter of 20. VIII. 1950) that there are no fragments from the Genizah which for certain come from *Seder R. Amram*.

In his study Marx points out that the quotations from Amr. in the works of Jewish authors in the Middle Ages should also be investigated, as a means of ascertaining the text of Amr. This has only been possible to a limited extent in the present book. But when *Machzor Vitry*^{6a}), *Siddur Rashi*^{6b}) and *Tur*^{6c}) expressly cite Amr. it has as a rule been mentioned here.

As appears from what is said above, two printed editions of Amr. exist already. Coronel's edition (as mentioned before based on MS. **M**)⁷) has been thoroughly examined by Ginzberg⁸), and Halberstam has compared it with MS. **M**.⁹) This edition is very unsatisfactory. It often abbreviates the prayer texts, and as Halberstam shows it sometimes arbitrarily changes the reading of the MS.**M**¹).

The edition by Frumkin (based on MS. **O**)²) is also unsatisfactory. There

^{6a)} "Machzor" means a compendium of the religious life for the entire religious cycle. It is called, like the cycle itself, "Machzor" (repetition). The best known and most comprehensive of such collections is that made by R. Simcha b. Samuel (ca. 1100 A.D.) of the school of Rashi. It is called *Machzor Vitry* after the home of the author. Cf. Elb., 8. It was printed for the first time 1889—93 (Elb., 8). I have used the edition printed 1923 (*Machzor Vitry nach dem Handschrift im British Museum . . . zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen versehen von S. Hurwitz. Nürnberg 1923*).

From a comparison between *Machzor Vitry*, pp. 1—80, and the first part of *Seder R. Amram* occurs that *Machzor Vitry* has used Amr. as one of its principal sources, but only comparatively seldom it expressly quotes Amr. (cf. the Introduction to *Machzor Vitry*, p. 47 f.).

^{6b)} *Siddur Raschi*, Ritualwerk R. Salomo ben Isaak zugeschrieben. Mit Anmerkungen und Einleitung versehen von Salomon Buber s. A. Für den Druck redigiert von Dr. J. Freimann. Berlin 1911.

This *Siddur* is a work of Rashi's school. It contains hardly anything that is not found in *Machzor Vitry* and other medieval liturgical works (cf. MGWJ, 1912, p. 318).

Like *Machzor Vitry* this *Siddur* has used Amr. as a principal source (cf. Buber's notes on this *Siddur*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 5 etc.).

^{6c)} *Turim* ("Rows", i. e. "rows of laws"), a codification of the Talmudic legal material, compiled by R. Jacob b. Asher who died in Spain about 1340 (cf. Box: A short survey of the literatur of rabbinical and mediaeval Judaism, p. 137). The first part of this work, *Tur Orach Chajim*, gives the liturgical laws.

⁷⁾ Cf. above, p. XXI. ⁸⁾ GG, I, 126—154. ⁹⁾ Marx, 363 ff.

¹⁾ "Zum grossen Schaden für die wissenschaftliche Benutzung dieses Werkes hat der Herausgeber bekannte Stücke vielfach abgekürzt und nur die Anfangsworte derselben gegeben; darum ist es nicht möglich zu untersuchen, ob nicht im Einzelnen oft Abweichungen vorhanden ist." Elbogen: Geschichte des Achtzehngebets (MGWJ, XLVI, 1902, p. 332). As Elbogen remarks here the editor often abbreviates well known passages, especially the basic prayers (cf. e. g. pp. 4 b, 5 a), but as a rule he gives in full passages which do not occur in MSS. **O** & **S** and which, therefore, certainly do not belong to Amr. (cf. e. g. pp. 3 b, 4 a, 10 b, 12 b).

Since these passages for certain do not belong to Amr. I have only indicated them in the critical notes in the Hebrew part of this book. They are often long (cf. Coronel's edition, pp. 3 b, 4 a, 10 a etc.).

Halberstam (cf. Marx 363 ff.) has shown that there are many important differences between MS. **M** and Coronel's edition.

²⁾ Cf. above, p. XXI.

are errors on nearly every page. Sometimes words and phrases are omitted³⁾, sometimes additions have been arbitrarily made⁴⁾, sometimes the reading of MS. Ø has been arbitrarily changed⁵⁾, and sometimes "corrections" have been made where the text of the MS. is correct⁶⁾. In some instances the prayer texts are abbreviated.⁷⁾

In 1907, when Marx published his article on Seder R. Amram⁸⁾, no other printed edition of Amr. existed than Coronel's. In the Hebrew part of his work Marx supplements Coronel's edition by quotations from MSS. Ø but he does not give the full text of these MSS. When Marx gives passages which are missing in MS. M but which occur in MSS. Ø he sometimes does it without pointing out the differences between the MSS. Ø.⁹⁾ His quotations are not always free from errors.¹⁾

Since no satisfactory edition of Amr. exists, the present writer found it necessary to make a new critical edition of this important work in order to be able to use it for the purpose of this study²⁾.

³⁾ Especially the following omissions may be pointed out: *mishaken ra* (p. 69, line 3 from above), *baruk ose bereshit* (p. 138, line 3, above), *lo* (p. 141, line 1 above), *amar R. Abbahu* etc. (10 words, p. 154, line 2 from above), *umetaresinam* etc. (15 words, ibid, line 2 from below), *melek, ozer umoshia* (p. 234, line 3 from above), *wchanoserim* (p. 253, line 1, above). It is astonishing that Frumkin should omit this important reading of Ø, since it is also pointed out by Marx in the Hebrew appendix to his article, p. 6. As occurs from Fr. p. 48 Frumkin knew Marx' work, and sometimes he makes use of it in his notes, cf. Fr. p. 358, 362). Among other omissions may be mentioned *kohen* (p. 284, line 1 from below), and *weal Jerushalajim ireka* (p. 364, line 1, below).

⁴⁾ The following instances may be mentioned: *hu* (p. 168, line 3 from above), *amar* (ibid., line 5 from above), *leh maqom* (p. 229, line 5 from above), *wchashab* etc. (9 words, p. 253, line 4 from below), *midrasha* (p. 269, line 4 from above).

⁵⁾ One important instance may be mentioned: *Abinu shebashamajim* (p. 398, line 5 from above). MS. Ø reads *Elohe hashamajim*. Frumkin's alteration has misled Klausner, cf. below, notes on ch. C).

⁶⁾ On p. 341, line 4 from above, Fr. gives the reading *meisrael* and in a note he gives the correction *belsrael*, but the text of MS. Ø reads *belsrael*. On p. 370, line 3 from below, *chad* is missing in Frumkin's text but is given in a note, but the MS. reads *chad*. On p. 386, line 5 from below, *ween reshef* etc. (11 words) are missing in Frumkin's text but given in a note, but the MS. gives the whole phrase.

⁷⁾ Cf. e. g. p. 317, 395.

⁸⁾ Cf. above, p. XXI.

⁹⁾ This is especially the case in the long passage pp. 7—10 (== Fr. ch. LXXIII—LXXIX).

¹⁾ E. g. p. 10, line 9 from below, where he omits *umesajenat*. Fr. quotes this passage from Marx, of course without knowing that the reading is incorrect (Fr. p. 369, note 1).

²⁾ But as a rule I have not reproduced Bible texts (e. g. Ps. 145—50, cf. ch. XI—XIII) and passages from the Talmud (e. g. Ker. 6 a, ch. LXV) which are recited in the synagogue service and which are given in full in Amr.

V.

The Sources of *Seder R. Amram*.¹⁾

R. Amram begins his account of the "hundred *berakot* and prayers" by quoting R. Natronai's responsum²⁾ which responsum he makes much use of in his book. He regards R. Natronai as a great authority³⁾, and he follows him as regards the plan of his work. Like R. Natronai he bases his structure on the scheme of the hundred *berakot*.

R. Amram's principal source is the Babylonian Talmud which he quotes very often⁴⁾. Sometimes he also cites the Palestinian Talmud⁵⁾. But it should be noted that when quoting the Talmudim, R. Amram sometimes gives readings that do not occur in our editions⁶⁾. At times he cites dicta that are not found in our editions⁷⁾, and some readings that occur in our editions may have been missing in the Talmudim used by R. Amram⁸⁾. Sometimes R. Amram abbreviates Talmudic passages⁹⁾. Most of these differences between our editions and the Talmudim used by R. Amram are un-

¹⁾ The following survey refers, of course, only to the first part of *Seder R. Amram*. —An important difference between Amr. and Sa. is that Amr. quotes his sources, while Sa. states the law without giving his authority for it. Sa. only contains "a digest of all the laws which a Rabbanitic Jew ought to know" (Ginzberg, JQR, XXXIII, N. S., 1942 —43, p. 328). The reason is that Saadja writes for the people and not only for the scholars (cf. Ginzberg, ibid., 327 f.). Sa. "was a part of his [Saadja's] educational program, intended to serve as a religious manual for the average man, as a text-book 'to learn and to understand', not as a book of scholarly discussions" (Elbogen: Saadia's Siddur [Saadia Anniversary Volume], p. 250.) But from R. Amram's method in presenting the matter it is clear that he writes for scholars.

²⁾ See below, p. 5.

³⁾ In Amr. R. Natronai is mentioned no less than thirty times (cf. Ginzberg, ibid., 323).

⁴⁾ Cf. below, pp. 14, 18, 29 etc.

⁵⁾ Cf. below, pp. 4, 19, 58, 59, 73, 74, 112. In some of these cases Amr. expressly refers to the *Talmud Eres Israel*, cf. e.g. pp. 19, 58, 59, 73, but in other cases when quoting PT he does not mention his source, cf. e.g. pp. 74, 119.

Ginzberg thinks that most quotations from PT are not original in Amr. (Ginzberg, PT, I, Hebrew Introduction, p. 99) but his proofs are hardly conclusive.

⁶⁾ Cf. below, pp. 108, 120, 128.

⁷⁾ Cf. below, pp. 37, 111, 119.

⁸⁾ Cf. below, pp. 14, 33.

⁹⁾ Cf. below, pp. 112, 119.

important, and only a few of them are noted in the present work. The problems of Talmudic textual criticism are, of course, beyond the scope of this study.

Amr. also gives a few quotations from the Midrash¹⁾). He refers occasionally to the usage of the academy at Sura²⁾ and to the usage of "both academies"³⁾, and to the usage of "our teacher's house in Babel"⁴⁾. At times he mentions the usage of the Spanish congregations⁵⁾, and once he refers to the usage of German congregations⁶⁾.

Not a few Gaonic responsa are quoted in Amr. Once a general reference is given to "the responsa"⁷⁾, and in some cases responsa are cited verbatim⁸⁾. It is obvious that some of these are later additions⁹⁾, but some of them may be original.

¹⁾ Cf. below, pp. 18, 63, 171.

²⁾ Cf. below, pp. 31, 44, 46.

³⁾ Cf. below, p. 57.

⁴⁾ Cf. below, pp. 168, 186.

⁵⁾ Cf. below, pp. 7, 57.

⁶⁾ Cf. below, p. 57.

⁷⁾ Cf. below, p. 24.

⁸⁾ The quotations from R. Nachshon (ch. XVIII) and from R. Saadja (ch. XX, LXII, MS. Q, cf. the critical notes on these chapters in the Hebrew part of this book) are obviously later additions.

Ginzberg is of the opinion that Amr. did not originally contain any reference to Gaonic responsa. One of his reasons is that in Amr. the responsa are quoted verbatim. "While the Geonim sometimes refer to the opinions of their predecessors they never quote their responsa verbatim, as is the case in the Siddur. Besides the original text of the Siddur that was sent to Spain, there remained a copy thereof in the archives of the Sura Academy. R. Zemach, its Vice President, added to this copy excerpts of the geonic responsa, especially those by his former master, R. Natronai. The early scholars of Babylonia and Spain thus were in possession of two recensions of the Siddur, the original short one by R. Amram, and the longer one by R. Zemach, and quite correctly they quoted the latter as authority whenever they referred to matter found only in his additions to the Siddur. Gradually, however, the short one was displaced by the longer" (Ginzberg, JQR, XXXIII, N. S., 1942—43, p. 323 f.).

This may also be the reason why the earliest authorities quoting halakhic statements found in Amr. credit them not to R. Amram but to R. Zemach, the *Ab Bet Din* of the Sura Academy (see below, p. 3, cf. Ginzberg, ibid., 322—324). This explanation seems probable, but it is, of course, not impossible that some quotations from the responsa are given by R. Amram himself.

⁹⁾ E. g. responsa by R. Nachshon and R. Zemach, cf. below, pp. 44, 136.

VI.

The Prayer Texts of Seder R. Amram.

The differences between the MSS. of Amr. are often great. To what extent is it possible to reconstruct the original text? This is a difficult question.

As already pointed out above¹⁾ Amr. consists partly of prayers and partly of Halakic material. The discrepancies between the MSS. are mostly found in the text of the prayers. The Halakic parts are much better preserved. Here the differences between the MSS. are generally not very important.

When copying the text of the prayers the copyists must often have followed the formulas with which local usage had made them familiar, instead of paying attention to their model²⁾. But in copying the Halakic parts they had to give heed to the text of Amr. Ginzberg thinks that their real concern when copying the book was to give the text of the Halakic parts³⁾. This opinion of Ginzberg's should be modified thus: MS. ⚭ and MS. ⚮ are careful in giving the Halakic portions. But MS. ⚯ sometimes entirely omits Halakic material⁴⁾ and sometimes it abbreviates it⁵⁾.

In his *Der jüdische Gottesdienst* Elbogen put it as a matter of question whether Amr. originally contained any prayer texts. His reason is that the discrepancies between the text of the prayers given in the different MSS. of Amr. are so great. Later he emphatically denies that Amr. originally contained any prayer texts⁶⁾.

There are several arguments which might refute this opinion of Elbogen's. Especially the following may be stated:

¹⁾ Cf. above, p. XX.

²⁾ "Die Abschreiber verfahren mit absoluter Willkür und tragen keinerlei Bedenken, den S. A. nach den ihnen geläufigen Riten zu 'verbessern'", Marx, 352. "The prayers the copyists knew by heart, and they paid little attention to their model. They wrote as their memory dictated", GG I, 146.

³⁾ "Besides, they knew that the value of their work was concentrated mainly in the copying of the Halakot. To these they therefore devoted conscientious attention." GG I, 146.

⁴⁾ Cf. e. g. ch. II and LXXIII—LXXVIII.

⁵⁾ Cf. e. g. ch. III—V and the latter part of ch. IX where MSS. ⚯ only gives the initial and the concluding words of the paragraph.

⁶⁾ "— — die Vermutung ist nicht abzuweisen, dass sie [die Gebete] ursprünglich nicht darin enthalten waren", Elb. 360. But in his article "Prayer-Books" in UJE Elbogen says that "later copyists inserted [in Amr.] the texts of the prayers which each of them found in use in his own country", UJE, VIII, 620. Ginzberg is right in characterizing this opinion as "hypocritical" (JQR, NS, XXXIII, p. 321).

1. The Spanish congregation had asked for "an order of prayers and *berakot* for the whole year"⁷⁾). This must mean that they desired the texts of the prayers and *berakot*. If R. Amram instead of such texts sent them a chain of Halakic dicta, he would not have sent them what they expressly desired.

2. All the MSS. of Amr. give full prayer texts. It seems difficult to explain this fact if Amr. did not originally contain any prayer texts at all.

3. It is true that there are great discrepancies between the prayer texts but there are also accordances between them. And in some cases all the MSS. agree where later siddurim have other formulae⁸⁾). It seems difficult to explain such facts if Amr. did not originally contain any prayer texts at all.

4. The liturgical work most akin to Amr. and written perhaps a little more than half a century later, is the *Siddur of Gaon R. Saadia*⁹⁾). Like Amr. it consists of prayer texts and a chain of Halakic dicta accompanying the prayers.

Consequently there is good reason to assume that Amr. originally contained complete prayer texts. It must, however, be admitted that the later alterations are so numerous that we are often unable to determinate the original form of the prayer texts.

Two observations should be made regarding these alterations. Firstly: As regards the essential prayers ("die Stammgebete")¹⁾ the alterations, are, as a rule, not great and are generally changes in wording, not in the meaning.²⁾ Secondly: The alterations should not be thought of simply as later formulae. In many cases they may be as old as those originally contained in Amr. It must be borne in mind, as already pointed out³⁾, that the principal prayers are very old; but only the order and the subject-matter of the prayers were fixed from of old, not the exact words⁴⁾). Consequently the same prayers from old times had differences in wording.

⁷⁾ Cf. ch. I a.

⁸⁾ Many such instances are pointed out in the notes accompanying my translation of Amr., cf. e. g. pp. 12, 13, 49, 106, 133, 164, 183.

⁹⁾ The *Siddur* of R. Saadia Gaon is preserved only in one (not quite complete) MS. and it was edited in 1941. (*Siddur R. Saadja Gaon*. Ediderunt I. Davidson, S. Assaf, B. I. Joel. Jerusalem 1941.)

¹⁾ "Die Stammgebete" (Elbogen translates this German term by "original prayers", UJE, VIII, 620) are prayers which are used the whole year, Elb. 2.

²⁾ "Die Einrichtungen der Männer der Grossen Versammlung bezogen sich lediglich auf die *Anordnung* und auf den *Inhalt* der Gebete, nicht auf ihren Wortlaut. Dieser war nicht festgelegt und vorgeschrieben, sondern der augenblicklichen Eingabe überlassen." Elb. 243.

³⁾ Cf. above, p. XV.

⁴⁾ Cf. above, foot-note 2.

VII.

Seder R. Amram and the Synagogue Service at the Time of Christ.

What can be inferred from Amr. concerning the form of the synagogue service at the time of Christ?

As we have already pointed out, the principal traits of the synagogue service of Christ's day must have been fixed for a long time. But the question may be raised as to what relation there is between the service of the time of Christ and the form of the service given in Amr. Here a few remarks should be made:

1. The Spanish congregation had asked for the order of prayers and *berakot* "which they have taught from heaven"¹⁾). That the elements of the synagogue service were "taught from heaven" of course implies that they, like the Torah, had a divine origin and were consequently regarded as divine institutions. For this reason it is evident that in order to meet this request, the Gaon and the academy at Sura must have known that all the material given in the Siddur which they sent to the Spanish congregation was of ancient date. On the whole it is improbable that the Geonim and the academies added any new element to the basic prayers ("Stammgebete") and *berakot*.²⁾

¹⁾ Amr., Ia.

²⁾ Jewish scholars sometimes assert that new *berakot* were added to the liturgy in the Gaonic times. Berliner says regarding the morning *berakot* which in the Gaonic times were placed in the public service: "Hierbei wurde die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge geändert und auch die Zahl derselben durch die Aufnahme von neuen Segensprüchen, die im Talmud nicht erwähnt werden, vermehrt" (Berliner: Randbemerkungen, 13). It may be objected that it would be impossible to prove that new *berakot* were adopted in the Gaonic times. The *berakot* which seem new to us because we do not find them in the Talmud, may have occurred in the Talmud in the Gaonic times. Cf. below, notes on ch. II.

Hertz thinks that the *beraka* "Blessed be he who spake" goes back to the ninth century (Hertz, 51). Hertz must have founded his statement on the fact that this *beraka* is found in T. d. B. El. Suta (cf. Elb., 83). But apart from the fact that the scholars are not agreed as to the date of T. d. B. El. Suta (cf. below, notes on ch. VII) it is very improbable that the Geonim would have adopted this prayer if it had been a new one, since their aim was to give only what they had obtained by tradition.

To RaMBaM it is a matter of course that the text (*nosach*) of all the *berakot* was

2. Further, the Gaon expressly states that the material in the Siddur is of ancient origin. They, i. e. he and the academy, "have understood to arrange and to return [the prayers etc.] in accordance with the tradition which is in our possession". There was, then, in the academies in Babylonia a chain of tradition concerning the synagogue service. The word *massoret* denotes a chain of tradition.³⁾ In the academy there was a living tradition as regards the synagogue service, and R. Amram's only concern is to transmit what is prescribed in this tradition. Hence it follows that prayers in Amr. which are not mentioned in the Talmud are nevertheless looked upon by the Gaon and the academy, as being of ancient origin. It is not easy to find any conclusive objection against their opinion. Everything in the old tradition regarding the service need not necessarily be mentioned in the Talmud.

3. Amr. in his introduction refers to the dictum of R. Meir: "A man must recite a hundred *berakot* every day"⁴⁾. This dictum takes us back to the middle of the second century A. D. It should moreover be remembered that R. Meir was one of the foremost exponents of Jewish learning in that century⁵⁾. He considered it to be a duty, i. e. a divine command, for a man to recite a hundred *berakot* every day. This implies that he took for granted that at least a hundred *berakot* were known by the people, and that many of them used to recite these hundred *berakot* daily. R. Meir does not enumerate the hundred *berakot*. But Amr. gives an enumeration in ch. III⁶⁾. There is no

established by Ezra and his court, RaMBaM, HB, I, 4. It is not proper to change them, or add or take aught away from any one of them. "Whoever deviates from the form which the Sages have given to the *berakot*, is in error" (RaMBaM, ibid.). This utterance may be founded on Ber. 40 b: "R. Jose said: Whoever deviates from the form established by the Sages for the *berakot* has not fulfilled his duty." As Gordis (A Jewish Prayer Book for the Modern Age, 6) points out, this Talmudic dictum refers only to *berakot* over fruits and vegetables, and not to all *berakot*. But RaMBaM obviously makes it refer to all *berakot*.

RaMBaM's dictum implies that he looks upon all the *berakot* as having been established by the Sages in the distant past. His dictum proves too, that new *berakot* could not possibly have been established in the Middle Ages.

New elements in the liturgy were certainly created in the Gaonic times but these new elements had the character of poetry (piyyutim, cf. Elb., 280 ff.) and were not placed on an equality with obligatory prayers and benedictions.

³⁾ Cf. Jastrow, s. v.

⁴⁾ Amr., ch. I a.

⁵⁾ He belonged to the fourth generation of the Tannaim and was the most prominent among the numerous disciples of R. Aqiba, Strack, 128 f.; Mielziner, 31 f.

The following statement of K. Kohler may be quoted here: "At any rate, by the second century they [i. e. the *berakot*] were already fixed as to form and number, since R. Meir declares it to be the duty of every one to say one hundred benedictions every day (Men. 43 b)", JE, III, 10.

⁶⁾ Such enumerations, obviously taken from Amr., are also given in Vitry, p. 3 f., and Rashi, § 1.

reason to think that there was any essential difference between the hundred *berakot* to which R. Meir refers and those enumerated by Amr., although their form may not always be identical. Further, it is impossible to think that the hundred *berakot* in the second century were an innovation. Substantially, at least, they must have been in existence for a long time, and consequently must have been in use at the time of Christ.

4. It must, however, be added that two important historical events, which may have influenced the synagogue service, took place between the time of Christ and the time of R. Meir. One of them is the rise of Christianity. It had effects on the synagogue service. Judaism had to defend itself against Christianity. Thus the twelfth *beraka* in the *Tefilla* was adopted, to be used as a means to expel Jewish Christians from the synagogue⁷), and it was for their sake that the Decalogue was removed from the service⁸). The other important event is the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. From that time other parties within Judaism ceased to exist. The Pharisaic party alone survived and gained complete control of the spiritual life of the Jewish people. This too must have effected the synagogue service.

Concerning the difference between the synagogue service at the time of Christ and the synagogue service as presented in Amr. two further remarks should be made:

a) In Amr. the morning *berakot* and supplications⁹) and the "Passages of Song"¹⁰) form a part of the public service. This arrangement may have come into existence in the Geonic times²). Earlier they only formed a part of private devotions.

b) In Amr. the terms *chazzan* and *sheliach sibbur* are used interchangeably, denoting the official who recites the prayers in public service³). But at the time of Christ these terms stood for two different functions. The *sheliach sibbur* ("The delegate of the congregation") was the leader in prayer who as a representative of the congregation recited aloud the prayers in the synagogue service⁴. This leading in prayer was a voluntary function discharged by members of the congregation who were qualified for it and invited to under-

⁷⁾ Cf. Elb., 36 ff.

⁸⁾ Cf. Elb., 242; Moore, I, 291; III, note 64.

⁹⁾ Amr. ch. II—VIII.

¹⁰⁾ Amr. ch. IX—XIV.

²⁾ Cf. below, p. 5.

³⁾ Cf. below, p. 6.

⁴⁾ Cf. Elb. 487 f.

take it⁵). The *chazzan*⁶) carried out the orders of the president of the congregation. "It was he who asked the members of the congregation to lead in prayer, to read the Scriptures and to preach. It was his task to take the Torah scrolls from the ark and to return them, it was he who opened the scroll at the portion to be read."⁷)

When the designation *chazzan* began to be applied to the reciter of prayers cannot be ascertained. Bacher quotes some Talmudic passages to the effect that the *chazzan* acted as reader of prayers as early as in the second century A. D.⁸) But Elb. thinks that such texts were changed in order to conform to the later usage of the term⁹).

The NT speaks of the "ruler of the synagogue" who had the responsibility of maintaining order in the synagogue¹), and it was his task to decide who was to function in the public service²). This official is never mentioned in Amr., and the title does not occur after the Tannaitic times.³)

⁵⁾ Cf. Elb. 487 f.

⁶⁾ ὑπερέτης, Luke 4:20.

⁷⁾ Elb. 485 f.

⁸⁾ HDB, IV, 641.

⁹⁾ Elb. 488. According to one opinion (cf. below, p. 6) the term *chazzan* was not used for the *sheliach sibbur* until the sixth century A. D.

¹⁾ Cf. Luke 13:14.

²⁾ Cf. Acts 13:15. The NT also speaks of "the rulers of the synagogue", Acts 13:15. This plural does not mean that several persons functioned in this capacity at the same time and in the same synagogue. The plural may refer to the families of the archisynagogi which were a respected and influential class (Krauss, SA, 117).

³⁾ Elb. 484 f.

VIII.

The Synagogue Service—a Bible Service.

There are at least three reasons why the synagogue service may be styled “a Bible service”:

1) The reading of Scripture holds an important place in the service. It takes place four times a week¹⁾, i. e. in the morning and evening service on the Sabbath and in the morning service on Mondays and Thursdays²⁾.

2) A great part of the service is made up of long Scripture passages. The morning service begins with the reciting of a couple of Psalms³⁾, the *Shema* consists of three sections from the Pentateuch⁴⁾, and besides the Psalms belonging to “the Passages of Song”, many other Psalms belong to the service⁵⁾. A considerable part of the service is made up of passages which are composed of single verses, culled from different books and chapters⁶⁾. Sometimes a verse is interwoven in a non-Biblical composition, quoted with an introductory, “it is said”, or “it is written”⁷⁾.

3) The prayers have a Scriptural character. Abudarham⁸⁾ is quite right

¹⁾ Cf. Elb. 155—205; Elbogen: Torah, the Reading of (UJE, X, 273 f.).

It may be observed that the technical term for reading from the Torah at public services is *qara* (Elb. 497, cf. below, pp. 136, 182). The Greek equivalent of *qara* is *avayvwawetv* which is used also in the NT for reading from the Torah at the Synagogue service (Luke 4:16 [cf. Elb. 170]; Acts 15:21; 2 Cor. 3:15) and for reading of apostolic letters (1 Thess. 5:27; Col. 4:16, cf. Rev. 1:3).

²⁾ Cf. below, ch. XCIX—C.

³⁾ The “Passages of Song”, cf. below, ch. IX—XIV.

⁴⁾ Cf. below, ch. XV ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. Dembitz, 180—192.

⁶⁾ Cf. below, pp. 31, 130 ff.

⁷⁾ Cf. below, pp. 24, 126 etc.

⁸⁾ David ben Joseph Abudarham (Abudraham, Abudirham), commentator on the synagogue liturgy, who lived at Seville, Spain, about 1340, and was a pupil of Jacob ben Asher (cf. JE, I, 139 f.). His book, popularly known as *Sefer Abudarham*, was intended to serve as a running commentary to the liturgy. “He certainly succeeded, as no one before him, in writing a commentary which is very valuable, if not indispensable, to the student, and which deserves to be translated and condensed for the benefit of those who still use the ancient ritual” (JE, ibid.). It was first printed in Lisbon in 1489. Concerning the different editions, cf. JE, ibid. The latest edition, published by Ch. L. Ehrenreich, was printed in Klausenburg, in 1927, but is incomplete. (It contains only what corresponds to pp. 1—22 B in the edition printed in Prague in 1784.)

Abudarham laid no claim to originality, and he often mentions his sources. (His sources are enumerated in EJ, I, 628, but in this enumeration Amr. is missing. Abudarham quotes Amr. many times, cf. Abudr. 13 B, 19 B, 22 A, 35 B etc.).

in stating in an introductory chapter to his classic commentary on the prayer-book: "The language of prayer is founded on the language of Scripture"⁹). Abudarham has demonstrated the truth of this thesis by a very careful analysis of the prayers, in which he has traced every phrase to its origin. He has pointed out that most phrases of the prayers are taken from Scripture or are nearly related to Scripture expressions. As a rule there are only a few expressions which he cannot trace. He denotes such expressions "the language of the sages"¹¹).

⁹) Abudr. 2 B.—Every student of the Jewish liturgy is struck by this fact. "Perhaps the most striking feature about the synagogue prayers in general is their Scriptural character. Not only are whole Psalms, passages and single verses used, but the material of those prayers, which are not directly Scriptural citations, is largely drawn from the sacred writings. Sometimes it is a striking allusion to some point in the Scripture that we meet with, or it may be an adaption of a Scriptural sentence, as when, for instance, the promise: *I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning* (Is. 1:26) becomes a petition: *Restore our judges as at the first etc.* (Amida XI)." (Box, Expository Times, vol. XV, p. 364.) "The first thing that strikes the reader of these prayers is that innumerable texts are entwined in the very substance of most of them . . ." (A. Lukyn Williams, International Review of Missions, 1926, p. 207).

The present writer has tried to point out the Scripture material from which the prayers are composed wherever it seems to be of interest, but he has not tried to trace every phrase to its origin. Moreover, this could only be done in a book written in Hebrew, and has indeed already been done by Abudr. (cf. above, note 8).

¹¹) Cf. Abudr. 19 A, 24 A etc.

IX.

Praise and Petition.

The ground-form of Jewish prayer is the בָּרְכָה (*b'râkâ*). This word is derived from the verb *berek*, which meant, primarily, "to fall on one's knees", then "to make intercession" or "to bless", and finally "to praise God"²). In the Jewish liturgy *beraka* denotes a devout passage which opens with, or the closing sentence of which opens with, *Blessed [be] thou, JHWH*.³) "As

¹) As Elbogen points out, Jewish liturgical literature has no general term covering the different parts of the synagogue service. Each part of the service has its own name, Elb. 4. Neither is there a general expression for "prayer", "praying", Elb. 4. The words תְּפִילָה (*Tefillâ*) and חַטָּפֶלֶל (*hitpallel*) are reserved for the Eighteen (nineteen) benedictions, cf. below, p. 70.

²) Elb. 4 f.

³) Beyer states that all prayer formulas which begin with *Blessed* are called *berakot* (Th. W., II, 757). It should be added that a *beraka* need not begin with *Blessed*.

Jewish liturgy developed, the benediction became a characteristic form for Jewish prayer, and eventually nearly every paragraph in the prayer-book ended with a benediction; this was called 'sealing a prayer' (Ber. I:3). Even prayers of petition ended with a benediction; and this form of prayer continues in use in all Jewish services today⁴⁾.

The first Amoraim⁵⁾ gave a definite form to the *beraka* by establishing the rule that the Name of God and the Kingdom of God must be mentioned in every *beraka*⁶⁾. The formula *Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe* (ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך העולם) should, then, occur in every *beraka*⁷⁾. As appears from the content of this formula it praises God as the sovereign ruler of the world. The rabbinic literature stresses that this praise should be uttered with concentration of mind. "A man should concentrate his mind on the sense of the words [when reciting the sentence *Blessed . . .*]. When he mentions the Name [of God] he should concentrate his mind on the meaning of it, as it is read, i.e. *Adonai*, which means that He is the Lord of all, and he should concentrate his mind on it as it is written, i. e. with the letters *Jod* and *He* which means that He was, is and will be. And when a man mentions the word *Elohim* he should concentrate his mind [on the fact] that He is mighty, the Lord of all power and of all strength."⁸⁾ This prescription is in full accordance with the Talmudic literature⁹⁾. When a man recites the sentence *Blessed* etc. it means, that he praises and submits to JHWH as the eternal God, the sovereign Ruler of the world.

As Abudarham indicates¹⁾ there are two types of *berakot*: those which are shaped according to the short formula and those which are shaped according to the long formula. The short *berakot* consist of a single phrase beginning with *Blessed* etc. Such are, for instance, some *berakot* in the liturgy²⁾, *berakot*

⁴⁾ Elbogen: Benedictions (UJE, II, 167).

⁵⁾ In the third century A. D.

⁶⁾ Elb. 5.

⁷⁾ It may be assumed that this was a prevalent custom before the time of the first Amoraim, but that these Amoraim tried to make it a general rule. In some cases, however, it does not seem to have been possible to alter an old formula: in the first paragraph of the *Tefilla* the expression "King of the universe" does not occur. The reason may be that "at the time of its composition these words had not yet come into vogue" (Dembitz, 85).

⁸⁾ SA, § 5:1.

⁹⁾ This appears from the commentaries on SA, § 5:1.

¹⁾ Abudr. 2 B, 3 A.

²⁾ Cf. below, pp. 9 ff.

for commandments³⁾ and *berakot* for things enjoyed.⁴⁾ The content of all short *berakot* is praise.

As regards the *berakot* shaped according to the long formula, the rule is that they should begin with *Blessed* and conclude with *Blessed*⁵⁾. But this rule does not apply when several long *berakot* follow one another. In this case only the first one begins with *Blessed*, while the following ones have this sentence at the end⁶⁾). In such cases the following *beraka* is "joined to" the first one⁷⁾). There are, however, many exceptions to this rule. There are, as Abudarham points out, *berakot* which do not begin with *Blessed*, although they are not joined to a preceding *beraka*⁸⁾. The explanation may be that some *berakot* were given their definite form before this rule was generally adopted. As we have just pointed out, all short *berakot* contain praise. A long *beraka* may contain either praise or petition, but most long *berakot* are praises or thanksgivings⁹⁾.

Thus, it is evident that praise and thanksgiving take the essential place in Jewish prayer. This fact is connected with the high estimation of praise and thanksgiving. This estimation may be aptly illustrated by the structure

³⁾ Every duty to God, whether permissive or obligatory, requires a *beraka* to be said before its fulfilment, RaMBaM, HB, XI, 1, cf. Pes. 7 b. See the *beraka* for washing of hands, below, p. 7, and the *beraka* for the *Tefillin*, below, p. 20.

⁴⁾ Cf. the *beraka* before meals, below, p. 142, and before drinking, below, p. 144.

In his article *Der Sinn der Beraka* (Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 1929, p. 201 f.) Fiebig points out that there are New Testament scholars who do not correctly understand the meaning of the *beraka*. Fiebig quotes Lietzmann who speaks of "Brotsegen" and "Weinsegen". It must be borne in mind that *berek* in the Jewish liturgy cannot have a material object. To say a *beraka* over things enjoyed means to praise God, the giver of food. "In jedem Fall ist der Gedanke fernzuhalten, als handle es sich um Segnung des Genossenen. Nicht dies wird etwa durch den Lobspruch in einem neuen Zustand versetzt, in welchem nun irgendwie das Göttliche an ihm haftete. Der Gegenstand der Benediktion ist vielmehr Gott, der das Genussfähige hat erstehen lassen und also darüber zu verfügen hat. Die Beziehung des Geniessbaren zu Gott liegt in seiner Herkunft von ihm. Was in der Segnung geschieht, ist, dass der Essende vor dem Genuss dies anerkennt. Nur insofern wird der Genuss selbst dadurch beeinflusst, als er durch den Lobspruch zu einer Gott wohlgefälligen Handlung wird, deren Wirkung dem Geniessenden zugute kommt" (Dalman: Jesus—Jeschua, 123). Cf. also below, notes on ch. LXXV.

⁵⁾ Ber. 46 a; Pes. 104 b. Cf. Abudr. 8 B.

⁶⁾ Ber. 46 a; Pes. 104 b. As this rule is found in a Baraita (cf. Ber. 46 a) it was known in Tannaitic times.

⁷⁾ Ber. 46 a; Pes. 104 b. Cf. below, 8, 13 etc.

⁸⁾ Abudr. 8 B. As an example he mentions *Elohai neshama* (see below, p. 8 f.). This example is especially interesting because it may indicate that this *beraka* is very old.

⁹⁾ "Der Hauptinhalt des Gebets ist die Lobpreisung Gottes, und jedes Gebet soll mit einer Lobpreisung Gottes, also hymnisch beginnen. Mit der letzte würdige Gegenstand des Gebets ist die Bitte um das eigene Wohl, während die Fürbitte sehr hoch geschätzt und ihre sichere Erhörung in Aussicht gestellt wird" (Elbogen, EJ, VII, 125).

of the morning service¹). Its first part, the "Passages of Song", consists of berakot and psalms containing praise. The *berakot* belonging to its second part, the *Shema*, contain praise. The three first paragraphs of its third part, the *Tefilla*, are praises and the three last ones are thanksgivings. The thirteen middle *berakot* contain petitions, but all of them conclude with "Blessed" etc., i. e. they close with praise. They do not begin with this sentence because they are joined to the first *beraka* of the *Tefilla*²). Praise, then, precedes the petitions, and every petition is connected with praise.

This arrangement is in accordance with Talmudic dicta concerning the importance of praise. "A man should always first recount the praise to the Holy One, blessed be He, and then pray (*hitpallel*)"³).

But petition also forms a part of Jewish prayer. The *Tefilla* is the principal supplicatory prayer of the Jewish liturgy. It may be noticed that it is a congregational prayer. All its paragraphs are formulated in the plural to be used by the congregation, and the petitions are requests which concern the need of the whole congregation.

The petitions of the *Tefilla* are for the spiritual and moral good of the congregation, and there are a couple of petitions which might be called "national". But the *Tefilla* also contains petitions for rain and for a good harvest. Such prayers are, however, considered "yielding to lower instincts"⁴). And it is considered inappropriate that an individual should pray for his own personal needs.

The *Kuzari* explains at length why the individual should not present his personal requests in his prayer but pray the *Tefilla* in the congregation⁵): After the Israelite in the three first *berakot* of the *Tefilla* has praised God's holiness and greatness he begins with petitions for the whole of Israel. In order to be heard a prayer must come from a congregation. From every point of view the prayer of the congregation is to be preferred to that of an individual. The congregation does not pray for things which might

¹⁾ Cf. below, ch. IX f.

²⁾ Cf. above, p. XXV.

³⁾ Cf. below, ch. CII.

⁴⁾ Odeberg: Tillbaka till Bibeln, 70. Cf. Gen. R. XIII:2: "All the talk of the people turns on the land [i.e. on material prosperity]: 'the land is doing well' [i. e. crops promise to be good], 'the land is not doing well', and the prayer of the people turns only to the land. They say: May the land do well, may the land prosper. But the whole prayer of Israel [i. e. of truly pious men] turns to the Temple. They say: May the Temple be rebuilt. They say: When will the Temple be rebuilt?"

⁵⁾ *Sefer Ha-Kuzari*. Das Buch Kusari des Jehuda ha-Levi nach dem hebräischen Texte des Jehuda Ibn-Tibbon herausgegeben . . . von David Cassel, p. 233 f.

damage the individuals, but an individual might pray for something which would injure another individual, and among the individuals there might be some who prayed for things which might be harmful to him. And the individual often makes faults in his prayer, but this is avoided when praying together with the congregation.

These instructions may be traced to Talmudic dicta⁶). They show that the religious authorities disapprove of the individual making request for his own personal needs in his prayer.

⁶⁾ This is pointed out by Cassel in his note on this passage.

X.

Temple and Synagogue.

There is good reason to think that Krauss is right in stating that the synagogue and its service originated as a substitute for the Temple¹). There is, at any rate, an intimate relation between the synagogue service and the Temple service.

Some parts of the synagogue service have been transferred from the Temple to the synagogue, e. g. some prayers²), the Decalogue³), and the Priestly Blessing⁴)). The names of various offices of the synagogue are derived from the Temple service, e.g. *Mincha*, *Musaf*⁵), and some of the rules regarding the time in the day for the different synagogue services originate from similar rules regarding the offerings⁶). This implies that there may be a parallel between the sacrifices and the offices of the synagogue. The Talmud states that the prayers (*Tefillot*) were instituted "so as to correspond to the daily sacrifices"⁷).

¹⁾ Krauss, SA, 93.

²⁾ Elb. 25, 29 ff., 55. Cf. below, pp. 64, 96.

³⁾ Elb. 236, cf. below, p. 52 f.

⁴⁾ Elb. 67, cf. below, p. 122 ff.

⁵⁾ Elb. 98, 115, cf. below, p. 122.

⁶⁾ Krauss, SA, 95.

⁷⁾ Ber. 26 b.

There is not only a parallel between the synagogue offices and the offerings, but the Talmud also states that the *Tefilla* is instituted "instead of the sacrifices"⁸⁾. It is a substitute for the offerings. Elbogen thinks that this conception arose after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D. This is possible but cannot be conclusively proved¹⁾). This thought must have been very natural from the inception of the synagogue service, since this service is a substitute for the Temple service.

The connection between the synagogue service and the Temple is also illustrated by the rules which prescribe that the worshipper must fulfil certain outward ritual requirements, in order to fit himself to take part in the synagogue service. He should wash his hands before the service, as the priests washed their hands before making the offerings²⁾). And the Mishna prescribes that he should not recite the *Shema* or pray the *Tefilla* if he has suffered a pollution³⁾. Sometimes the worshipper is compared to a priest serving in the Temple⁴⁾.

All these facts indicate that prayer in the synagogue service is regarded as a ceremonial rite, which at least in some respects is analogous to the ceremonies of the Temple service. Hence it is evident that prayer "cannot be a man's appeal to God in a certain situation, in some distress, hoping for an answer in the sense that a man might obtain just what he had asked for. Prayer is an act of divine service where a man does not so much aim to

⁸⁾ Ber. 26 a.—Krauss, SA, 97, refers to PT Ber. IV, 4: "We do not say to him who is to pass before the ark (cf. below, p. 113) 'come and pray', but, 'come, draw near', [which means] 'do our offerings', 'satisfy our needs' etc.". Thus *qareb* which in the Temple service means "to offer", in the Synagogue service is used for "lead in prayer". The prayer (*Tefilla*) is "the [Temple] service of the heart" (PT Ber. IV, 1). Hos. 14:2 is interpreted to mean that the Israelite when praying sacrifices bulls with his lips (cf. Elb. 251).

Also recital of passages concerning the sacrifices is a substitute for the sacrifices of former days, cf. below, p. 16, 134.

⁹⁾ Elb. 251.

¹⁾ Elb. refers to R. Jochanan b. Zakkai who declared that charity (*gemilut chasadim*) was the substitute for the sacrifices (Elb. 251). Elb. thinks that this proves that the generation living about 70 A. D. did not regard the prayers as substitutes for the sacrifices, and he adds that this idea is not found in any Tannaitic authority. But it may be noticed that the idea of the prayers as substitutes for the sacrifices was very natural, since the synagogue service originated as a substitute for the Temple. Therefore it seems possible that this idea was not quite a new one in Tannaitic times.

²⁾ Cf. below, ch. I, LXX, LXXXIV.

³⁾ Ber. III, 4, 5. It seems obvious that the reason is that this person is ritually unclean. (But RaMBaM explains that this rule has no connection with ritual cleanliness or uncleanness: its purpose is to restrain scholars from uxoriousness, RaMBaM, HT, IV, 4).

⁴⁾ Cf. below, ch. XXXVII.

obtain something from God as to elevate and sanctify his own soul and to enter into harmony with the will of God”⁵⁾.

Jewish prayer then, is an act of worship which can be performed only if certain outward requirement are fulfilled⁶⁾. But it is not enough that these requirements are carried out and that the texts are recited correctly.⁷⁾ The texts must also be recited with “concentration of mind” (*kawwana*)⁸⁾. The Jewish religious authorities lay stress on the fact that a man does not fulfil his duty by a mere mechanical recitation of prayers⁹⁾. Amr. contains a couple of sayings to the effect that different parts of the service should be recited with *kawwana*¹⁾.

Kawwana (כָוֹנָה) is a very important idea in connection with Jewish prayer. As Enelow and Perles observe, in this idea Judaism is unique²⁾. From Amr. it appears that *kawwana* means that a man earnestly directs his thoughts to the

⁵⁾ Odeberg, Tillbaka till Bibeln, 70.

⁶⁾ The rules concerning such requirements are summed up by RaMBaM, HS, III (for the *Shema*), and HT, IV (for the *Tefilla*). Cf. SA, §§ 73—77; 90, 91 and below, ch. XXXI—XXXVI.

⁷⁾ Christian scholars have sometimes thought it self-evident that Jewish prayer must become a mere matter of outward performance. “Wo das Gebet in solcher Weise unter die gesetzliche Formel gebannt war, musste es notwendig zu einem äussern Werkdienst erstarren” (Schürer: Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, II⁴, p. 572). “Welche, zwar gute, Verkehrung ist doch diese Fülle von *Reglementierung des Gebetlebens!*” (Fiebig: Berachoth, 42).

These scholars take for granted that prayers that were made subjects to regulation must necessarily become a mere matter of outward performance, but they give no reason for this assumption. Enelow rightly points out that “it is an error to assume that the minute regulation of the religious life was in itself antagonistic to spirituality and inwardness, or that it necessarily had that effect among the Jews; as if the discipline of an army or the laws of a country must necessarily suppress patriotism, or the rigorous training of the sciences destroy love and enthusiasm for them” (Enelow, op. cit., 83).

⁸⁾ This term is derived from the verb *kun* which occurs frequently in the OT, cf. Enelow: *Kawwana*: the struggle for inwardness in Judaism (in Studies in Jewish Literature issued in honour of Professor Kaufmann Kohler, p. 84 f.). Cf. also Montefiore: Rabbinic literature and gospel teachings, p. 184 f.

¹⁾ Cf. ch. XII, XXI, XXXI.

²⁾ “Kawwana is a thoroughly Jewish doctrine. Both the word and the idea belong to Judaism” (Enelow, op. cit., 84). “... there is a specially significant conception for which we have no term in any other ancient language — not even in the NT — namely, *kawwanah*, ‘devotion’ (more exactly *kawwanath hallebh*, ‘direction of the heart’)” (Perles, ERE, X, 194).

Enelow (in his article mentioned above) has tried to sketch the development of this idea in Judaism.

words he utters³), that *kawwana* is connected with meditation⁴) and perhaps also with pondering the words of prayer and their mystic content⁵).

From. Ber. II, 1 the Gemara deduces the principle that the fulfilment of all religious duties requires *kawwana*⁶). Therefore, "any prayer (*Tefilla*) recited without concentration of mind (*kawwana*) is no prayer (*Tefilla*)"⁷.

³⁾ There are many rules that obviously aim to provide against a merely mechanical recitation. The worshipper should pronounce the words carefully (ch. XXI), make the proper pauses (ch. XXII, XXVI), and he may raise his voice, if he cannot otherwise concentrate his mind (ch. XLIV). Cf. Enelow, op. cit., 83 f., 86.

⁴⁾ Cf. below, ch. LXXXIX (with reference to Ber. V, 1): "And it is necessary to tarry one hour and then to pray the *Tefilla*". Kohler freely renders Ber. V, 1 as follows: [The pious men of olden times] "spent an hour in profound meditation before praying in order to fill their heart with intense devotion to their Father in heaven while communing with him" (Kohler: Origins of the synagogue and the church, 31).

⁵⁾ Cf. ch. XXIII where it is prescribed that one should linger on the word *echad* in the *Shema* etc. This "offers a glimpse of another aspect of the idea of *kawwana* and of later stages of its evolution: intense pondering of the words of prayer and of their mystic content" (Enelow, op. cit., 87).

⁶⁾ Ber. 13 a, cf. Enelow, op. cit., 86.

⁷⁾ RaMBaM, HT, IV, 15.

TRANSLATION WITH NOTES

Salutation and Introduction.

Ia. Amram, son of Sheshna, president of the academy in the city of Mechasja, to Rabban Isaac, son of Rabban Simeon, beloved and dear and honoured with us and in the whole academy. Great peace from the mercifulness of heaven be upon you and upon your children and upon all scholars and disciples and upon our brethren the Jews who live there. Receive salutation from me and from R. Semach, the vice president of the academy of Israel, and from the Allufim and from all the scholars of the academy, and from the students of the academy who are with us and in the city of Mechasja that we are all well, the scholars and the students and our brethren the Jews who are living here, that we always salute you and have you in a good remembrance and pray for you and ask for mercy upon you, that the Holy One, blessed be He, may have mercy on you and protect you and save you from all grief and harm and that He may, in his great mercy, fulfil all the desires of your hearts. Rabban Jacob, son of Rabban Isaac, has sent us twenty gold coins which you have sent to the academy, five for us and fifteen

I a. **Amram, son of Sheshna** etc. The book begins by a salutation and, thus, in form is a letter. As the Gaonic responsa were written in order to answer questions submitted to the academies, it was natural that they began as letters. **Mechasja**, i. e. Sura, cf. JE, V, 568. to **Rabban Isaac** etc. Amr. does not state where these recipients of his book live; but there is a tradition that it was written for Spanish congregations (cf. Zunz, GV, 390; GG, I, 121; Krauss: Zur Literatur, 3). Spain is also mentioned in Amr. in such a way that it is evident that it makes a special reference to that country (cf. e. g. below, ch. I). **the vice president** etc. As regards the officials of the academy, cf. above, Introduction, II. **gold coins which you have sent** etc. The Spanish congregation has sent a donation to the academy when asking for this order of prayers. **five for us**: one-fourth of the donation fell to the share of the gaon. The gaon received money like the exilarch, and like the patriarch in earlier times, GG, I, 13. "In the Judaism of ancient days, and for hundreds of years after the extinction of the Gaonate, no fees were attached to the office of a teacher, especially a teacher of advanced disciples, and still more especially if the teacher's office was connected with the exercise of judicial authority" (GG, I, 13). There are, however, several witnesses to the fact that the gaons received money (GG, I, 13, 14). **And an order of prayers** etc. As regards the term *seder*, cf.

for the fund of the academy. And we have given order and we have blessed you; may these blessings be fulfilled in you and in your children and your grandchildren. And an order of prayers and *berakot* for the whole year that you have asked for, which they have taught from heaven, we have understood to arrange and to return in accordance with the tradition which is in our possession, in conformity with the institution of the Tannaim and the Amoraim. For it is said in a Baraita: R. Meir said: A man must recite a hundred *berakot* every day. And in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud we read the following: It is taught in the name of R. Meir: There is no man in Israel who does not fulfil a hundred commandments every day, as it is said: *And now, Israel, what does JHWH, thy God, require of thee.* Do not read *ma* [what] but *mea* [a hundred]. I require a hundred *berakot* of thee. And David, the king of Israel, instituted them. When the inhabitants of Jerusalem told him that a hundred Israelites died every day he rose up and instituted a hundred *berakot*. And it seems that they were forgotten, and the Tannaim and the Amoraim came and arranged them in order.

Elb. 6; Krauss: Zur Literatur, 1. The usual title of a Jewish prayer-book is *Siddur*, cf. Elb. 6. This technical term was, of course, not in use in the times of Amr., as no prayer-books yet existed. (Amr. MS. S has the superscription *Siddur R. Amram z'l* which of course dates from a later time. The MSS. M and O have no superscription.) Amr. uses the term *seder*. Sometimes it denotes a part of the book (cf. e. g. ch. VIII) but here in the introduction to the work it certainly stands for the whole book. The word *seder* is derived from the verb *sidder*, which, in the Talmud, denotes reciting a prayer (and performing other acts of worship and ritual, cf. Krauss: Zur Literatur, 1). "The expression *seder* ('order') and its derivates, which are frequently used in the Talmud in connection with prayers, refer to a closely related group of prayers joined together to constitute a uniform sequence" (Elbogen, UJE, VIII, 619). **that you have asked for:** the congregation had asked for an order of prayers but they had also asked some special questions concerning liturgical matters (cf. e. g. below, ch. LVIII). **which they have taught from heaven... in conformity with the institution of the Tannaim etc.** The Tannaim and Amoraim have taught "from heaven", i. e. they were the transmitters of the oral Torah. According to Amr., thus, the order of prayers and *berakot* forms a part of the oral Torah and has, consequently, a divine origin **a Baraita, Men. 43 b.** R. Meir said: he belonged to the fourth generation of the Tannaim, the most prominent among the disciples of R. Aqiba, cf. Strack, 128 seq. of the Pal. Talmud, PT Ber. IX, 9. **it is said, Deut. 10: 12. And David,** cf. below, ch. IV. **Do not read:** i. e. change the traditional (Massoretic) reading (for homiletical purposes). According to Ber. 33 a the *berakot* and prayers were instituted by the men of the great synagogue, "the hundred and twenty elders", in the time of Ezra. But some sources state that the hundred *berakot* were instituted by king David (cf. Num. R. XVIII). Cf. below, ch. IV.

The Morning Benedictions and Supplications.

I. And this is the order of the hundred *berakot*: Thus R. Natronai, son of Hilai, president of the academy of the city of Mechasja, answered the

I. Ch. I—VIII deal with *birkot ha-schachar*, prayers in the morning which were prescribed on the occasion of performing different religious duties in the morning. Originally they formed no part of the synagogue service, but belonged to the acts of private devotion. But in the times of Amr. these prayers were, for practical reasons (cf. below) recited in the synagogue. But this usage was not accepted by all. RaMBaM opposes it. According to his opinion these *berakot*, when they refer to certain times and occasions, should be recited only at the appropriate time and occasion. For example: If one has put on his girdle he should say: "... who girdeth Israel with strength". But if one passed the night without removing his clothes, on arising in the morning he should not say: "... who clothest the naked". But RaMBaM remarks that in his time it was the custom of most Jews to recite these *berakot* in the synagogue, consecutively, whether they were under an obligation to do so or not. "But this is an error, and it is not right to do so. A man should recite no *beraka* if he has no obligation to do it" (RaMBaM, HT, VII, 7—9).

Thus R. Natronai etc. R. Natronai was the predecessor of R. Amram, cf. JE, IX, 190; Weiss, 114 f., and the author of the responsum referred to here. "Although Natronai was of advanced age when he entered the office, and although his official term embraced less than a decade, an unusually large number of responsa were issued by him. Questions were addressed to him from all parts of the Diaspora; and his answers, about 300 of which have been preserved in various compilations... show his thorough mastery of the subject treated as well as his ability to impart knowledge" (JE, IX, 190). It is evident that Amr. regards Natronai as a great authority for he quotes Natronai's responsum concerning the hundred *berakot* and refers to him in other connections (cf. below, ch. LVII, LVIII, CII).

As Aptowitzer points out (MGWJ, 1911, p. 638) this responsum of Natronai is preserved in three different versions: I: the version represented by the Genizah text published by Ginzberg (GG, II, 109—121) and by *Shibbole ha-Leqet* § 1. II: the version found in Amr. III: the version which occurs in *Sefer Rabiah* (Rabiah=R. Eliezer ben-Joel Ha-Levi of Bonn, d. 1235, cf. EJ, VI, 468f.) p. 140f. There are some important differences between these versions: version I gives the *beraka* on the Tefillin but this *beraka* does not occur in II and III; the *beraka* on wine is missing in version I but occurs in version II and III; version I reckons three *berakot* after the evening *Shema* but version II and III do not reckon "who reigns in his glory" (cf. Amr. ch. XCI, end) because this

members of the congregation of Lucena, by R. Joseph, the light of our eyes: To recite every *beraka* in its time is impossible because of the impurity of the hands which are occupied in serving. But when a man wakes from sleep he washes his face and his hands and his feet, as it is proper, to fulfil what

benediction is not mentioned in the Talmud. Version III also gives the Haggadic references for the hundred *berakot* which in version II seem to belong to Amr.

Lucena, city in southern Spain, UJE, VII, 228. To recite every *beraka* in its time: Ber. 60 b prescribes that in the morning a man should recite different *berakot* in connection with acts which he performs in the morning. When he wakes he should say: "My God, the soul which thou hast given me is pure", when he hears the cock crowing he should say: "Blessed be . . . who hast given the cock understanding to distinguish between day and night" etc. But persons who have to do physical work are unable to recite the *berakot* at the prescribed time. Because of this, and because many men are unlearned, i. e. do not know the *berakot*, the *chazzan* recites all these prayers in the synagogue. Thus these prayers which according to Ber. 60 b belong to private devotion in the morning, became a part of the synagogue service. **he washes his face and his hands and his feet:** Ber. 60 b gives the *berakot* which are to be recited in connection with the washing of hands and face. The washing of hands is referred to in the Talmud as a very important act, cf. Sabb. 108 b, 109 a. Ablutions before prayer are already mentioned in some passages in the Pseudepigraphical writings. Judith regularly performs her absolution before reciting her prayers, Judith 12:7. The Sibylline books say that pious men clean their hands with water and honour God early in the morning, Sibyl. III, 590—593. The Letter of Aristeas says that it is the custom of all Jews to wash their hands in the morning and afterwards to pray, Arist. 305. Here an explanation of the washing of hands is also given: the Jews wash their hands in order to testify that they have done no evil, Arist. 306. In later times the precepts regarding the washing of hands became very detailed, cf. RaMBaM, HB, VI; SA § 4. It seems probable that the command regarding the washing of hands has some connection with the precepts to the priests who had to wash their hands and their feet before entering the tent of meeting, Ex. 30:17 seq. (cf. Krauss, SA, 412). Amr. also prescribes the washing of feet. The Talmud mentions washing of hands and face but nothing about the washing of feet, cf. Ber. 60 b. It is, however, prescribed by different authorities in the Middle ages: Natronai (?; cf. GG, II, 114), Amr. (cf. above), RaMBaM, HT, IV, 3. RaMBaM expressly says that for the morning service it is not enough to wash the hands; also feet and face should be washed. **the chazzan begins** etc. This implies that the *chazzan* acts as leader in prayer. But in the Talmudic times the *chazzan* did not serve in this capacity. Then the leader in prayer who recited the prayers in the synagogue as representative of the congregation was called *sheliach sibbur*. This leading in prayer was a voluntary function discharged by members of the congregation who were qualified for it and invited to undertake it (cf. HDB, IV, 641; Elb. 488 ff.). The term *chazzan* was not used for the *sheliach sibbur* until the sixth century A.D., when the reading of prayers before the congregation became a profession to which a salary was attached (cf. JE, XI, 261). In the times of Amr. the *chazzan* also acted as *sheliach sibbur* (cf. Elb. 489). In Amr. these

is said: *Prepare to meet thy God, Israel.* And he begins and he arranges them and every individual is under the obligation of them. And the usage of all Israel in Sefarad, i. e. Spain, is this, in order to discharge the unlearned man [that] the *chazzan* begins and recites the *berakot* as R. Natronai answered:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and given us command concerning the washing of the hands.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast formed man in wisdom, and created in him many orifices and vessels. It is revealed and known before the throne of thy glory that if one of these be closed, or one of those be opened it would be impossible to exist even one hour. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who healest all flesh and doest wondrously.

two terms are used interchangeably. **Prepare to meet thy God:** Am. 4:12. This text is here interpreted to mean: put thyself in a proper position to meet thy God. Compliant with this verse various types of preparation for prayer were deemed appropriate. Cf. Ber. 23 a: "One who needs to ease himself should not say the *Tefilla*, as it says: *Prepare to meet thy God.*"

in order to discharge etc. The word *jasa* in rabbinical literature often means "to comply with the requirements of the Law" (Jastrow, 587). The Hiphil of this word is often used in the sense "to be an instrument of a person's complying with the Law, e. g. to read a prayer and thus cause the listener to perform his duty as though he read it himself; to act in another's behalf effectively" (Jastrow, 587). SA § 46:2 requires that the person on whose behalf the religious act has been fulfilled, should say "Amen". But this "Amen" is no *conditio sine qua non*, cf. SA § 213:2, as R Natronai answered: Amr. here quotes the responsum of Natronai, cf. GG, II, 114. **Blessed be thou etc.** There is, as Dembitz remarks (Jewish services, 86), a peculiar difficulty in putting most of the *berakot* in English. "They start with the second person, 'Blessed be thou', and almost invariably pass into the third." In modern English translations of the Siddur the third person is turned into the second person as a rule, cf. e. g. Singer, 4, 14, 15 etc., Hertz, 9, 13 etc. The present writer has generally used this way in his translation. **who hast formed man etc.** This prayer is to be recited when one comes out from a privy, Ber. 60 b. The Talmud also has a prayer to be said when one enters a privy, Ber. 60 b. But this prayer is not mentioned either by Natronai or by Amr. **in wisdom:** Abudr. refers to Job 10:10 and adds: He created man from a putrefying drop (cf. Abot. III, 1) and established him in wisdom (Abudr. 11 B). **if one of these be closed,** e. g. the mouth, the nose, the anus (Ri. ad Ber. 60 b). **healest all flesh,** refers to the discharge of the bowels which is a healing to the whole body (Ri., ibid.). **doest wondrously,** refers to the body of man which is hollow as a leather bottle. If there is a perforation in a leather bottle the air will not remain in it. But the Holy One, blessed be He, created man in wisdom and created in him many openings but despite this the air remains in him every day, and this is the wonderful and wise thing in his formation

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My God, the soul thou
gavest me is pure, thou
didst form it, thou didst
breathe it into me, thou
preservest it within me,
thou wilt one day take it
from me, and thou wilt
one day restore it to me
in the time to come. So

My God, the soul thou
gavest me is pure, thou
didst create it into me,
thou didst form it into
me, thou preservest it
within me, and thou hast
taken it from me, thou
hast restored it in me,
and thou wilt one day

My God, the soul thou
gavest me is pure, thou
didst create it, and thou
didst form it, thou pre-
servest it within me, and
thou hast taken it from
me, and thou hast restor-
ed it in me, and thou wilt
one day take it from me,

(Ri, ibid.). My God etc. A man should say this prayer when he wakes in the morning, Ber. 60 b. It does not begin by "Blessed". *Tur*, § 6, explains that it need not begin by "Blessed" because it adjoins "who has formed". But Abudr. (13 A) rejects this opinion because the Talmud prescribes that "My God" should be recited when awakening in the morning, i. e. before a man has said or done anything. Abudr. thinks that it does not begin by "Blessed" because it is a *beraka* of praise (and such *berakot* should not begin by "Blessed"). **the soul thou gavest me is pure:** the soul (*neshama*) is pure when given to man. "Just as the Holy One is pure, so the soul (*neshama*) is pure", Ber. 11 a, cf. Odeberg: The Fourth Gospel, 172, footnote 1. It is not tainted by original sin. Accordingly this prayer states a most important principle of the Jewish religion: the *neshama*, the indestructible "divine spark" in man (cf. Odeberg: Fariseism, 75 f.) is created pure. "This prayer which is a part of the morning service of the synagogue is quoted in the BT as a prayer that the individual should recite every morning im- mediately after awakening. Its doctrine is, thus, most solemnly and earnestly impressed on the mind of the pious pharisee. It is, then, not an utterance of some individual scholar but a principle of pharisaism" (Odeberg: Fariseism, 74).—The word *hi'* after *tahora* is found in no MS. of Amr. but occurs in the Genizah version of Natronai's responsum (GG, II, 115). It is found in the Ashkenazic siddurim (cf. Singer, 5). But Baer objects to it. In early authorities he has only found it in RiF, and he thinks that there it must be a later addition. In this he may be wrong, as appears from the responsum of Natronai. Baer objects to the word *hi'* because it claims that the soul of sinful man is pure, Baer, 39. (Cf. GG, II, 109: "The idea underlying [the *hi'*] is that the soul, when it is separated from its body, as it is at night, is pure, in spite of its owner's sins, and every morning returns to him pure and clean"). **thou didst create it:** the rabbis hold that "each soul which shall be from Adam until the end of the world, was formed during the six days of creation". The spirits which are to descend to earth are kept in the heaven Arabot (cf. JE, XI, 473).—Davidson (I, 206; no. 4498) states erroneously that these words are missing in Amr.: they are missing only in MS. M (as they are missing in the responsum of Natronai). **thou didst breathe it etc., cf. Gen. 2:7.** **thou preservest etc., cf. Ps. 97:10; 121:7.** **thou hast taken it from me:** in sleep. The soul of man is thought to have five different powers. "By means of one of them she escapes from the body every night, rises up to heaven, and fetches new life thence for

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long as the soul is within me I give thanks unto thee, Lord of all works. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest the souls to the dead corpses.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast given the cock intelligence to distinguish between day and night. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe,

take it from me, and thou wilt restore it in the time to come. And so long as my soul is within me I give thanks unto thee, JHWH, my God, Lord of all souls. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest souls to the dead corpses.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a heathen.

and thou wilt restore it unto me in the time to come. So long as my soul is within me I give thanks unto thee, JHWH, my God, Lord of all works. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest the souls to the dead corpses.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a heathen.

man" (Ginzberg: *Legends*, I, 56, cf. V, 74).—The sentences "thou hast taken it from me, thou hast restored it in me" are not found in MS. M (as they are not found in RaMBaM, HT, VII, 3, and later siddurim, cf. Baer, 39 seq., Singer, 5). **thou wilt one day take it from me: in the moment of death. restore it in me: in the resurrection. So long the soul... I give thanks etc.** The dead praise not God, Ps. 115:17; 6:6. **Lord of all souls:** this phrase is not found in MSS. MS. Abudr. (13 B) remarks that most people do not say these words, but he urges that they should be said. **who restorest the souls to the dead corpses:** for sleep is like death. "Sleep is one sixtieth part of death", Ber. 57 b. **Blessed be thou JHWH, our God etc.** "The whole idea in this part of the liturgy is the regular recurrence of daily phenomena and life. On awakening the worshipper expresses his sense of the order of Nature and of the marvellous regularity of its operations" (Abr. xvi). The *berakot* begin praising the omnipotence of Almighty God. Most of them refer to biblical texts. **who hast given the cock intelligence etc.** This *beraka* should be said when one hears the cock crowing in the morning, Ber. 60 b. But Tosaf. Ber. 60 b prescribes that it should be said even if one does not hear the cock crowing because it is a benediction for the benefit of the light. It is probable that the words are to be traced to Job 38:36. In the Talmud the word *sekwi* is explained to mean cock, cf. JE, IV, 139. **who hast not made me a heathen:** this benediction and the two following are not found in Ber. 60 b. They occur in Men. 43 b and PT Ber. IX, 2. There it is prescribed that they should be said every day. **heathen:** this is the reading of PT, Amr. (all MSS.), Sa. (79) "and all old siddurim" (Baer, 40). But Men. 43 b reads "who hast made me an Israelite", and thus *Tur*, § 46. (Baer, erroneously, says that *Tur* reads *goy*). This reading is owing to censorship, as the word *goy* by the censors was referred to "Christians" (cf. Popper: The censorship of Hebrew books, p. 10). Since PT Ber. IX, 2 gives reference from this benediction to Is. 40:17 the reading *goy* may be the original one (cf. Berliner, 15). The reading *nokri*, much commended by Baer, 40 seq., may have

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who hast not made me a heathen. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a slave. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a woman.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a slave. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, who hast not made me a woman. Blessed be thou,

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a slave. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, who hast not made me a woman. Blessed be thou,

come into use out of regard to the censorship (Berliner, 15). It is found also in Vitry, § 89.—*Tur*, § 46, interprets this *beraka* as a benediction for election, "because praise and thanksgiving should be given to God that he elected us from all peoples and brought us near unto his service". Israel is God's chosen people. R. Aqiba said (Abot III, 18): "Beloved are Israel, for they were called children of God, a special love that it was made known to them that they were called children of God, as it is said: *Ye are children unto JHWH, your God*" (Deut. 14:1). The Jew *thanks* God that he is not a heathen: his words are by no means meant as self-praise. Cf. Luk. 18:9—14. "According to the pharasaic conception a man should thank God for being able to do anything good at all. The picture of the pharisee in the Temple in Luk. 18 is quite true to life. The pharisee there is described as a man who *thanks* God, because he has granted him to keep himself from the evil life of sinners. The Jewish liturgy has many benedictions of this kind" (Odeberg: Fariseism, 32). "When he (the pharisee) describes what he himself does, this means, in the framework of such benediction, a glorifying of God. There is no essential difference between such a thanksgiving and the thanksgiving of the men in the synagogue service when they say: 'Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, who hast not made me a woman.' As the man by no means makes a merit before God of being a man and not a woman, so the pious pharisee's thanksgiving to God that he has saved him from the sinful life into which other people have unfortunately fallen, is in no sense a claim to possess merits of his own before God" (Odeberg: Fariseism, 36 f.). **who hast not made me a slave.** The Jew *thanks* God that he is not a slave, "because a slave is under no obligation to keep the commandments as is an Israelite, he is not allowed to enter the Temple, and he is disqualified from many things" (Baer, 41). And a slave "has no merits of the fathers, since his fathers did not stand on mount Sinai" (Abudr. 14 A). **who hast not made me a woman.** PT Ber. IX, 2 explains this benediction thus: "A woman is not obliged to keep the commandments." *Tur*, § 46, refers to M Kidd. I, 7: "The observance of all the positive ordinances that depend on the time of the year is incumbent on men but not on women." And the obligation to observe the commandments is in no wise a burden to men. On the contrary: it is a privilege. "God so desired to confer merit upon Israel that he multiplied for their sake the Torah and the meritorious acts", Macc. III, 16. *Tur*, § 46, and Abudr. (14 A) say that it was the custom of women to say here "who hast made me according thy will", cf. SA § 46:4; Singer, 6. This formula which is found in the siddurim of later times, does not occur in Amr.

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Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who exaltest them that are lowly. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who openest the eyes of the blind. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who raisest up those that are bowed down. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who makest firm the steps of man. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who lettest me want nothing of what I need. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who girdest Israel with might. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who spreadest forth the earth above the waters. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God,

JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who openest the eyes of the blind. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who raisest up those that are bowed down. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who openest the eyes of the blind. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who lettest me want nothing of what I need. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who loosest those that are bound. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who spreadest forth the earth above the waters. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God,

JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who exaltest those that are lowly. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who openest the eyes of the blind. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who raisest up them that are bowed down. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who clothest the naked. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who loosest those that are bound. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who spreadest forth the earth above the waters. Blessed be thou, JHWH,

or Sa. It may have come into use after the gaonic time. **who exaltest them that are lowly**: this benediction is not found in our Talmudim but occurs in Natr. (GG, II, 115) and Sa. (88). Sa. says that a man should say this benediction when he sits up. It is not probable that it originates from post-Talmudic times (against Berliner, 14, who apparently does not consider that the Talmud could have contained benedictions which are not found in the printed editions of the Talmud, cf. below, ch. II). **who openest the eyes of the blind**: cf. Ps. 146:8. A man should say this benediction when he opens his eyes in the morning, Ber. 60 b. **who clothest the naked**: A man should say this benediction when he dresses, Ber. 60 b. **who loosest them that are bound**: cf. Ps. 146:7. Although Amr. expressly rejects this benediction it is found in MS. S (originally also in MS. O, fol. 2, but a later hand has expunged it). A man should say this not because he has been bound literally, but he says it when he moves his limbs which have been fettered the whole night (Abudr. 13 B). **who raisest up them that are bowed down**: cf. Ps. 145:14. A man should say this benediction when he draws himself up, Ber. 60 b. He has not been bowed down literally, but he says so because he raises up his stature

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the universe, who makest firm the steps of man. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who lettest me want nothing of what I need. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our god, King of the universe, who girdest Israel with might. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who crownest Israel with glory. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who removest sleep from mine eyes and slumber from mine eyelids.

O:

King of the universe, who removest sleep from mine eyes and slumber from mine eyelids.

S:

our God, King of the universe, who makest firm the steps of man. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who lettest me want nothing of what I need. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who girdest Israel with might. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who crownest Israel with glory. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who removest sleep from mine eyes and slumber from mine eyelids.

which has been bent down the whole night (Abudr. 13 B). **who spreadest forth etc.**, cf. Ps. 136:6. This benediction should be said when he commences to walk, Ber. 60 b. **who makest firm etc.**, cf. Ps. 37:23. This benediction should be said when a man begins to walk, Ber. 60 b. **who healest the sick**: this benediction is found only in MS. M and does not occur in Ber. 60 b. **who lettest me want nothing etc.** Ber. 60 b has the positive formula "who hast supplied all my wants". Natr. and Amr. (all MSS. of Amr.) have the negative formula. Baer has found it too in Ibn Jarchi (Baer, 41). But Sa. has the positive formula (Sa. 88). The later siddurim have the positive formula (cf. e.g. Singer, 6). This benediction should be said when one ties one's shoes, Ber. 60 b. Natr. calls it "the benediction of the shoes" (GG, II, 115), the only *beraka* that Natr. in his responsum gives a special name, as shoes are a very important article of clothing. Ri. (on Sabb. 129 a) says that nothing is more degrading than walking barefoot in the street. And Abudr. says: If a man is barefoot he cannot go out and do what he needs, but when he has shoes on it is as if all his needs were filled (Abudr. 13 B). **who girdest Israel etc.** A man should say this benediction when he fastens his girdle, Ber. 60 b. The girdle symbolizes strength, Ps. 93:1. **who crownest Israel etc.** This benediction should be said when one binds one's turban round one's head. It hints at Ps. 103:4 and Is. 62:3. It is not found in the Genizah version of Natr. and not in Sa. The word "Israel" is used here because the Divine Presence rests upon Israel but not upon the heathen (Abudr. 13 B). **who removest sleep etc.**: should be recited when he washes his face, Ber. 60 b. It alludes to Ps. 132:4. The

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May it be thy will, JHWH, my God and God of my fathers, to make me familiar with thy Torah and to make me cleave to thy commandments; and lead me not into sin, not into transgression, not into temptation and not into shame, and keep me far from the evil inclination and make me cleave to the good inclination, and

May it be thy will, JHWH, my God and God of my fathers, to give my lot in thy Torah, and to make me cleave to thy commandments, and strengthen me to fear thee, and bend my inclination to serve thee, and accustom me to virtue, and accustom me not to transgression, and lead me not into sin, and not into shame, and not into

May it be thy will, JHWH, my God and God of my fathers, to give my lot in thy Torah, and make me cleave to thy commandments, and strengthen me to fear thee, and bend my inclination to serve thee, and accustom me to virtue, and accustom me not to transgression, and lead me not into sin, and not into temptation, and not

idea is: when a man washes his face every remainder of sleep vanishes. **May it be thy will** etc. This benediction does not begin with "Blessed" because it is considered to be a continuation of the preceding one, SA § 46:1. It uses the singular form because it is meant to be said in private devotion. Amr. has not altered this trait in it, although he prescribes that these benedictions should be said in the synagogue. The singular is found too in Natr. (GG, II, 115) and in Vitry (§ 89, but the introductory formula uses the plural form). In later times the singular is altered to the plural (cf. Baer, 42 seq.). **and God of my fathers:** the merits of the fathers are mentioned in most prayers (Abudr. 14 A). **to make me familiar with thy Torah:** as soon as a man awakes in the morning he ought to direct his mind to the fulfilling of his calling, i.e. the doing of the commandments. Only thus is the awakening in the morning a good thing. Concerning the sleep of the godless it is said: "The sleep of the godless is a delight to the world", Sanh. 71 a. It is so because the godless cannot sin when sleeping (Ri. a.l.). **keep me far from the evil inclination:** although good and evil are given into the hands of man [i. e. he has a free will], he prays that God may help him to do good and keep him far from evil (Abudr. 14 A). The good and the evil inclination are two powers which each try to influence man, and to control his choices and his acts. "These are in fact conceived of as two moral functions ordered by God to serve the permanent probation and training of man" (Odeberg: Fariseism, 75. Cf. further Odeberg: The Fourth Gospel, 297 seqq.). Man is able to conquer the evil inclination by studying and observing the Torah. "The Holy One, blessed be He, created the evil inclination in man, and he created the Torah with which to temper it", B. Bath. 16 a. "The means of freedom from the *yésaer* and the basis of it is the Torah and the observance of it, and the study of the Torah; in the last instance, then, the *love of God*, consequently: the real origin of man's mastery over the *yésaer* is God himself; when obeying God, and mastering the evil *yésaer*, the Israelites are 'the sons of God', God is their Father, the Israelites are free from the dominion of evil *yésaer* and sin" (Odeberg: The Fourth Gospel, 300). Cf.

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let me obtain grace and favour and mercy in thine eyes and in the eyes of all who see me, and bestow lovingkindness upon me. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who be-
stowest lovingkindness.

temptation, and let the good inclination rule over me, and let not the evil inclination rule over me, and let me obtain grace and favour and mercy in thine eyes and in the eyes of all who see me, and bestow lovingkindness upon me. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who be-
stowest lovingkindness.

into shame, and let not the evil inclination rule over me, but let the good inclination rule over me, and let me obtain grace and favour and mercy in thine eyes and in the eyes of all who see me, and bestow loving-
kindness upon me. Bless-
ed be thou, JHWH, who bestowest lovingkindness.

II. But in the Talmud we do not read "who loosest them that are bound", because "and who raisest up them that are bowed down" is enough, since we are taught: "He who recites a *beraka* which he is not obliged to recite, pronounces the name of the Lord to no purpose".

further Billerbeck, IV, 466—483. let me obtain grace and favour etc. There is a connection between grace and favour before man and before God: He in whom the spirit of his fellow-creatures takes delight, in him the spirit of God takes delight; and he in whom the spirit of his fellow-creatures takes not delight, in him the spirit of God takes not delight, Abot III, 13 (cf. Herford: Pirke Abot, 78). **and bestow loving-kindness upon me:** Abudr. (14 A) refers to Ps. 119:17: *deal bountifully with thy servant, that I may live*, and adds: for in the evening man is tired and weary and goes to sleep, and behold, he is as dead, and he commits his soul into the hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he deals bountifully with him and returns it to him in the morning. **who bestowest lovingkindness:** cf. Is. 63:7.

II. **But in the Talmud we do not read** etc. Amr. thus rejects the *beraka* "who loosest those that are bound" (but nevertheless it is found in MS. §, cf. above). His argument is that it is not found in the Talmud, i. e. he has not found it among the benedictions which are prescribed to be said when awakening in the morning. (Also Abudr. says that it does not occur in the Talmud, but he has found it in RaMBaM, [Abudr. 13 B, cf. RaMBaM, HT, VII, 4]). But it occurs in our Talmud, Ber. 60 b, where it is said that it should be recited when a man stretches himself and sits up. It is found too in Sa. (88) where it is prescribed that it should be said every morning when a man stretches forth his hands. Further it is found in Vitry (§ 89). Tur (§ 46) says: And I have seen in the Siddur of R. Amram, that if one recites 'who raisest up them that are bowed down' he should not say 'who loosest them that are bound'. But I do not know why this is ordered,

Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and commanded us concerning the words of the Torah. Make pleasant, therefore, we beseech thee, JHWH, our God, the words of thy Torah in our mouth and in the mouth of thy people the house of Israel, so that we may all learn thy Torah and that we and our offspring may be among them who know thy name. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who givest the Torah. Blessed be thou, JHWH, King of the universe, who hast chosen us from all peoples and given us thy Torah. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who givest the Torah.

because in the Gemara the one as well as the other is explained." Thus the author of *Tur* has read the *beraka* "who loosest them that are bound" in his Talmud. He is unable to explain why Amr. rejects it, since he does not consider the possibility that Amr. in his Talmud could have had a reading where this *beraka* did not occur. The passage cited from Amr. in *Tur* may be the reason why SA prescribes that if a man has recited "who raisest ——" he should not afterwards recite "who loosest ——", SA 46:5.—After this passage of Amr. MS. O adds an utterance from a responsum of R. Hai (R. Hai ben Sherira, gaon of Pumbeditha, d. 1038). He is especially known as the author of numerous responsa, cf. JE, VI, 152 f.). The disciples of R. Hai remark that his quotation from the Talmud does not tally with their reading of the Talmud, nor does it agree with ours. **Blessed be thou** etc.: the three following *berakot* occur in Ber. 11 b where they are mentioned as *berakot* to be recited before the study of the Torah. The first of them is ascribed to R. Samuel, the second to R. Jochanan and the third to R. Hamnuna. From Ber. 11 b it appears that in the time of the Talmud they did not form a part of the synagogue service. They may have taken this place in post-Talmudic, i. e. in gaonic times. They have been placed here as an introduction to the study of the Torah which is the daily duty of every Israelite (cf. Elb. 90). Tur points out that it is very important to be careful to recite these *berakot*, Tur, § 47. The reference is to Ned. 81 a, where the following question is discussed: Why do the sons of the scholars so seldom become scholars? Rabina answers: "Because they [the scholars] do not first [before study] recite the *berakot* on the Torah." BJ, on *Tur*, § 47, quotes an utterance by Rabbenu Nissim (R. Nissim ben Reuben who flourished in Barcelona 1340—1380, cf. JE, IX, 317 f.), in the name of Rabbenu Jonah (d. 1236, cf. UJE, V, 586) where this dictum of the Talmud is explained as follows: "It means that the Torah was not valuable enough in their eyes to recite a *beraka* on it. Because they did not study it in pure intent, they neglected the *berakot*. That means: They did not walk in it, i. e. in its intention and for its own sake." The Torah should be studied with devotion and reverence as the word of God, and in the intention to know and to do the will of God. And "the Torah" does not mean only the Scripture but also the oral Torah. R. Jochanan, the author of the *beraka* "Make pleasant", is especially spoken of in the Talmud as a scholar who stressed the importance of the oral Torah. He said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, made his

And he reads from the Scripture: "*And JHWH spoke to Moses, saying: Command the children of Israel*" etc. up to "*a sweet savour to JHWH*". And on the Sabbath he adds: "*And on the Sabbath day*" etc. And from the Mishna he recites "Which are the places where the sacrifices were offered" etc. up to "roasted", and from the Midrash he recites "R. Ishmael says" etc. up to "capable of harmonizing the two".

III. And in the following way the number of a hundred *berakot* is achieved: Those which are mentioned above are eighteen, and with "Blessed be He who spake" and "Praised [be thy name for ever]" they are twenty before the *Shema*. And three belonging to the *Shema* in the morning, two before it: "Creator of the luminaries" and "who hast chosen thy people Israel", and one after it: "who hast redeemed Israel", as we are taught [in the Mishna]: "In the morning one recites two *berakot* before it and one after it."

covenant with Israel for the sake of the oral words only", Gitt. 60 b. **And he reads** etc: As explained below, ch. VIII, it is the duty of every Israelite to recite a passage from the Scripture, the Mishna and the Talmud every day. But many Jews are not in the position to fulfil this duty. "Many loyal and well-meaning Jews were disabled by poverty, lack of teachers, or lack of talent and taste from deeper study. To these it was thought good to furnish a minimum; they might acquire a substitute for real learning" (Dembitz, 193).—The passages mentioned here are Num. 28:1—8, on Sabbaths vv. 9, 10 too; Mishna Zeb. V, and from Midrash Sifra 1 (R. Ishmaels account of the thirteen rules for expounding of the Torah). *Tur*, § 50, explains that "R. Ishmael" here is the same as the Talmud, since the Midrash is equal to the Talmud. It may be noted that the passages from Num. 28 and from the Mishna deal with the sacrifices and the passage from the Sifra is the introduction to the Midrash on the book of the Bible where most of the biblical commands about the sacrifices are given. The fact that all these passages deal with the sacrifices is connected with the idea that the devout recital of passages concerning the sacrifices is a substitute for the sacrifices of former days, cf. Elb. 90. "R. Ishmael says" etc.: R. Ishmael b. Elisha, Tanna of the second generation, cf. Strack, 124 f. His thirteen exegetical principles by which the oral Torah is derived from the written Torah are highly estimated among the Jews, as appears from the fact that they have found this place in the synagogue service, cf. Strack, 99 f.

MSS. **מ** and **ו** also have the Priestly Blessing here, Num. 6:23 ff., here, and **ו** also has Mishna Peah, I. These passages may be later additions as they are not found in Natr. (cf. GG, II, 116).

III. **And in the following way** etc. Also Vitry (§ 1) and Rashi (§ 1) give a similar enumeration of the hundred *berakot*. **These are . . . eighteen:** Amr. must have reckoned the three *berakot* on the Torah (cf. above, ch. II) as one *beraka*. Regarding the following 82 *berakot* cf. below: "Blessed be he who spake", ch. IX, "Praised", ch. XIV. **And three belonging to the Shema**, cf. ch. XX, XXIX. **And three times nine-**

This makes three. And three times nineteen [*berakot*] of the *Tefilla* in the evening, the morning and the afternoon, for they are, including the *beraka* [containing an imprecation] against the *Minim*, nineteen, this makes sixty. And together with the twenty [mentioned] before, it makes eighty. And the *berakot* belonging to the meals of the day are eight. They are the following: One belonging to the washing of hands, and "who bringest forth bread", and four belonging to the grace after meals: "who feedest", and "for the land", and "who rebuildest Jerusalem", and "who art good and dealest in goodness". And two [*berakot*] belonging to drink: if it is wine [one recites] "who createst the fruit of the vine" and "for the vine". If it is water [one recites] "by whose word" and "who createst many living beings", if it is the usage of the place to eat first and to drink afterwards. These are eight. And four [*berakot*] belonging to the *Shema* in the evening, two before and two after, as we are taught [in the Mishna]: "in the evening one recites two *berakot* before it and two after it." "Who bringest the evenings" and "who lovest thy people Israel" before it, and two after it: "who hast redeemed Israel" and "who guardest thy people Israel". And eight belonging to the evening meal: this makes twenty. And eighty mentioned above: which makes a hundred. Besides [these] "the King in his glory" which the later rabbis added after the verses of praise to the Holy One, blessed be He, and after the verses for mercy; and further "who makest the bands of sleep to fall", which [*beraka*] is to be recited before going to bed, and at many other times when it is necessary to recite the *beraka* [which is to be recited] after easement or passing water. Further [*berakot* which are to be recited on] food of fruit and herbage, and further [*berakot*] on fragrance. And if you object: It may be right concerning the weekdays that [on these days] a *Tefilla* consisting of all the nineteen *berakot*

teen etc., cf. ch. XXXVIII—XXXIX. And to the meals, cf. ch. LXXII—LXXVIII. And two . . . to drink, cf. ch. LXXIII. belonging to the *Shema* in the evening: cf. below, ch. XC, XCI. besides "who reigns in his glory", cf. ch. XCI. Thus it is really a man's duty to recite more than a hundred *berakot* every day. The hundred *berakot* are only a minimum. Cf. *Kuzari*, III, 11: "And long ago we received the tradition that the minimum of the praise which a man is obliged to recite is a hundred, not fewer." "who akest the bonds" etc., cf. below, ch. XCV. after easement etc., the *beraka* "who fortest", cf. above, ch. I a. food of fruit etc., cf. Baer, 567. fragrance, cf. Baer, 568. but on Sabbath etc. For the Sabbath the middle supplications are replaced by one, so that the Sabbath *Tefilla* is composed of seven *berakot*. This one speaks of the sanctity of the day (Ber. 29 a). It consists of an introductory portion, which on Sabbath

is completed three times but on the Sabbath, where there is no *Tefilla* consisting of nineteen *berakot*, how are they then completed? It is possible to fulfil them, [for] we read this in the Talmud: Concerning the Sabbath and the festivals, R. Chiyya, son of R. Ivya, took pains and completed with [*berakot*] on peaches and choice things, [different] sorts of spices and [different] sorts of fruit, e.g. ["who createst] fragrant woods" and "who createst odorous plants" and every sort of fruit, as he thought it proper.

IV. And the reason why we read that David, the king of Israel, ordained them is that it is written: "*David, the son of Jesse, says, and the man who was raised on high (al) says.*" The numerical value of *al* [i.e. the letters Ayin and Lamed] is a hundred. And every day a hundred men of Israel died, and they did not know why, until David came and investigated the matter and understood by the Holy Spirit, and ordained a hundred *berakot*. And a scriptural text supporting the enactment is this: "*And now, Israel, what does JHWH thy God require of thee*", the Holy One, blessed be He, requires a hundred *berakot* of thee.

V. And he who recites "who hast not made me an uncultivated person" does not act according to the *Halacha*, although we read in the chapter "The blue": R. Meir said: A man must recite three *berakot* every day: 'who hast

has four different forms for the four services (cf. Baer, 187 ff). Thus we read in the Talmud, Men. 43 b. on peaches and choice things etc.: for which *berakot* are prescribed, cf. Baer, 568.

Ginzberg thinks that this résumé of the hundred *berakot* is not original in Amr. "... it does not seem at all probable that Rab Amram would give a summing up of the *mea berakot* sent by his predecessor to the Spanish congregations not very long before his own Responsum" (GG, I, 151). But Ginzberg here seems to overlook two facts: a) Natronai does not show how the number of a hundred *berakot* is achieved. In this respect Amr. supplements Natr. b) There is nothing to prove that the recipients of Natronai's responsum were identical with the recipients of *Seder R. Amram*, although both were Spanish congregations.

IV. that David, the king of Israel etc. This refers to the plague which was the penalty for David's census-taking, II Sam. 24. "A widespread legend states that one hundred youths died daily during the plague, whereupon David instituted that one hundred benedictions should be recited in the daily prayers. The plague ceased as soon as this change in the liturgy was introduced" (Ginzberg: Legends, VI, 270 f.). And a scriptural text etc., Deut. 10:12, cf. above, ch. I a.

V. the chapter "The blue": Men. 43 b. R. Meir: Tanna of the third generation, the distinguished disciple of R. Aqiba, cf. Strack, 128 seq. in the Gemara etc. PT Ber.

not made me a heathen', and 'who hast not made me a woman' and 'who hast not made me an uncultivated person'. But in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud it is also taught in the name of R. Judah: A man must recite three words every day: 'Blessed . . . who hast not made me a heathen', since heathen are nothing, as it is said: *All heathen are as nothing before him.* 'Blessed . . . who hast not made me an uncultivated man', since there is no uncultivated man who fears sin. 'Blessed . . . who hast not made me a woman', since the woman is not commanded concerning the commandments. Nevertheless, it is not proper to recite thus, for they asked before R. Natronai Gaon and he did not consent. And again, it is removed in the Gemara, as R. Acha, son of Jacob, heard his son recite the *beraka* "who hast not made me an uncultivated person", he said to him: What self-praise! He said: How, then, should the *beraka* be formulated? Who hast not made me a slave. It is the same as woman. A slave is more contemptible.

VI. And he who puts on the *Tefillin* also recites a *beraka* on the *Tefilla* on the hand:

IX, 2. All heathen etc. Is. 40:17. Since all heathen are nothing before God there is a good reason for the Israelite to praise God that he did not make him a heathen. "... an uncultivated man": *bor* means "uncultivated, an uncultured person, mannerless, ruffian" (Jastrow, s.v.). Cf. Aboth II:6 where Hillel says: "There is no *bor* fearing sin." Amr. rejects this *beraka*, and he points out that R. Natronai did not approve it. But he also refers to the fact that it is already removed in the Gemara, Men. 43 b, where R. Acha rejects it because he thinks it to be self-praise (cf. Ri. a.l.). Of course that is the reason why R. Natronai and Amr. reject it. "**A slave is more contemptible**": a slave and a woman are alike in one respect: they are not obliged to fulfil all the religious duties. But the position of the slave is more contemptible.

VI. And he who puts on the *Tefillin*: *Tefillin* (*φυλακτήρια*, Matth. 23:5), two small leather boxes or cases which contain four sections from the Torah written on parchment. The four sections are Deut. 6:4—9; 11:13—21; Ex. 13:1—10; 13:11—16. One of these cases is put on the left arm above the elbow, the other is placed high up in the middle of the forehead. The usage of putting on *Tefillin* is founded on the literal interpretation of Deut. 6:8. Cf. RaMBaM, HTM, I—IV; SA § 25—45; art. Phylacteries in JE; Billerbeck, IV, 250 ff.

The Talmud attaches great importance to the fulfilling of the commandment regarding the *Tefillin*. R. Eliezer the Great sees in Deut. 28:10 a reference to the *Tefilla* of the hand, Ber. 6 a. And R. Jochanan says: If a man desires to take upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven in the most complete manner, he should ease himself, wash his hands, put on the *Tefillin*, recite the *Shema* and say the *Tefilla*; this is the complete acknowledgement of the kingdom of heaven",

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the ordinance of the *Tefillin*.

And on the *Tefilla* on the forehead he says:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and hast commanded us to put on *Tefillin*.

And when he puts on the *Tallit*, even if he does it a hundred times, he recites the *beraka*:

"... who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and commanded us to enwrap ourselves in the fringed garment."

And thus regarding the booth also and only by day and not by night.

Ber. 14 b, 15 a. And RaMBaM states that the degree of sanctity of the *Tefillin* is higher than that of the golden plate which the priest wore on his forehead. On the latter, the name of God was engraved once only, while the phylactery for the head contains the tetragrammaton twenty-one times, and the phylactery for the arm, an equal number on times (RaMBaM, HTM, IV, 14). "Das im Gesetz nicht vorgeschriebene Anlegen [der Tefillin] zum Gebet hat zum Grund, dass der Israelit dabei als ein das Gesetz Anerkennender vor Gott erscheinen will. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass in alter Zeit dauernde Anlegung vorkam, wie sie im Matth. 23:5 vorausgesetzt sein mag" (Dalman: Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, V, 285 f.). The *Tefillin* too are regarded as a protection against sin, Men. 43 b, and as a protection against evil spirits, Ber. 23 b. The Greek word *φυλακτήρια* employed in the NT (Matth. 23:5) indicates their significance as a means of protection (cf. Dalman: Arbeit und Sitte, V, 285). But this word does not occur in the Rabbinical literature, even as a foreign word (JE, X, 26). Blessed be thou etc. Both these benedictions occur in Ber. 60 b. And when he puts on the *Tallit*: *Tallit* or fringed wrapper is a sort of cloak worn by Jewish men above the age of thirteen when reciting prayers in the morning. The law concerning the fringes is contained in Num. 15:38—41 and Deut. 22:12. Here the Israelites are commanded to append fringes or tassels, consisting of several threads, to the four corners of their outer garment and constantly to look at them, in order to be put in mind of God's commandments, to keep them. This outer garment, the *simlah*, was worn like the Greek *himation*, which is its NT equivalent, the loose end being thrown over the left shoulder (cf. HDB, II, 69). Thus the *Tallit* was an ordinary piece of clothing, cf. Billerbeck, II, 31 ff. But the *Tallit* of the scholars must have in some way differed from that used by the ordinary men. In later times a special article of clothing was devised which was called *Tallit* being used by the Jew when praying.

In the NT the fringes are called *χρύσπεδη*, cf. Matth. 9:20; 14:36; 23:5 etc. The Talmud gives many instances of the utmost importance which the Jews attached to the fringed garment, cf. esp. Men. 41 b—44 a. And RaMBaM (HSS, III, 13) says: At all

VII. The scholars said:

At all times let a man fear God secretly, acknowledge the truth, and speak the truth in his heart; and let him rise early and say:

times, a person should be heedful of the precept concerning fringes, since the Scripture estimates it as so weighty that all the commandments are made dependant upon it, as it is said: *And ye shall look upon it and remember all the commandments of JHWH* (Num. 15:39). Cf. RaMBaM, HSS, I—III; SA § 8—24; art. Tallit, JE; UJE; Billerbeck, IV, 277—292; ThW, III, 904.

And thus regarding the booth etc. A man should recite the *beraka* on the booth every time when entering it, cf. Succa 46 a.

VII. The scholars said: The following passages stand consecutively in Tanna de be Eliyah XXI, cf. Elb. 91. The introducing clause, "At all times", in older sources, besides Amr., is only found in T. d. b. E. Scholars differ widely as to the date of origin of this work. Most of them have argued for the tenth century A. D. (cf. e. g. Strack, 220) but Jacob Mann holds that the work was written late in the fifth century, HUCA, IV, 305 ff. The occurrence of the *Shema* in this connection was explained in the Middle Ages as being due to periods of persecution, cf. Elb. 91; Abr. xxii; Mann (in HUCA, IV, 245—251). But Elb. considers it more probable that the first verse of the *Shema* was inserted here in order not to delay the time for its reading, Elb. 91. As Mann points out there is no real ground for this explanation, cf. HUCA, IV, 248 f. Mann thinks that the passage in T. d. b. E. reflects the religious persecution with regard to the *Shema* in Babylon and Persia under Yezdejerd II (454—5), "during which the recital of the *Shema* was forbidden as being a challenge to Zoroastrianism". "The Jewish authorities of the time at first impressed upon their coreligionists the duty of reciting the *Shema* (at least the first verse) privately in their homes before proceeding to the synagogue for the morning service. In the course of the religious persecution they invented also the strategem of inserting the beginning and the end of the *Shema* in the *Qedusha*." Mann, *ibid.* The author of the T. d. b. E. quotes it as an anonymous composition of the Babylonian rabbis of the time, cf. Mann, *ibid.* It was not taken over into the Palestinian Talmud. At all times etc.: the passage has not the form of a *beraka* and is often spoken of as an introduction to the two following prayers, cf. Baer, 44, Abr. xxi. The word "secretly" is thought to have reference to those times of persecution just mentioned above. (But it may be observed that the word *basseter* is missing in the ed. Warszawa 1881 of T. d. b. E., cf. p. 189.) Then the declaration of the unity of God could only be secret, "viz. in the home of the individual Jew and not at public worship" (Mann, HUCA, IV, 247). But J. Bergmann (In Zeit der Religionsnot, MGWJ, N. F., 63. Jahrg. 1928, 448—457) points out that religious persecution is stereotypically referred to as an explanation of different traits in the Jewish liturgy. Bergmann thinks that this explanation is unhistorical. He states that "At all times" does not refer to a time of religious persecution but demands fear of God in the heart (*ibid.*, 454). He explains the passage in the same way as Elb. (cf. above).

Sovereign of all worlds! Not because of our righteous acts do we lay our supplications before thee, but because of thine abundant mercies. What are we? And what is our life? And what is our piety? What is our righteousness? What is our strength? What shall we say before thee, JHWH, our God? Are not the mighty men as naught before thee, and the men of renown as though they had not been, and the wise as if without knowledge, and the men of understanding as if without discernment? For all our works are waste and void, and the days of our lives are vanity before thee and the preeminence of man over animals is naught, for all is vanity.

Nevertheless we are thy people, the children of thy covenant, the children of Abraham, thy friend, to whom thou didst swear on Mount Moriah; the seed of Isaac, thy only one who was bound upon the altar; the congregation of Jacob, thy first born son, whose name thou didst call Israel and Jeshurun by

Aptowitz (REJ, XCIII, 181 f.) points out that the expression "speaketh truth in his heart" is biblical (Ps. 15:2), and that the phrase "fear God secretly (*basseter*)" is tal-mudic (B. Bath. 88 a). It may be added that the expression *basseter* is also biblical (cf. e. g. Ps. 91:1) and need not necessarily be translated "secretly". But Aptowitz is right when pointing out that in B. Bath. 88 a both phrases are used as being synonymous, both meaning to do what is right and to avoid evil, even when noticed by nobody (Aptowitz, ibid., 181). Aptowitz thinks that *Leolam* is "une exigence morale, valable pour tous les temps, en toutes circonstances, pour toute la conduite de l'homme, du juif" (ibid., 182).

This is undoubtedly the meaning of these phrases in B. Bath. 88 a, but this sense seems not to be appropriate in *Leolam*, as it has no reference to the following prayers or to prayer in general. It might be supposed that *Leolam* is an exhortation to sincere devotion in prayer, formed in accordance with biblical expressions (Ps. 15:2; 91:1 etc.).

Sovereign of all worlds. The following passages culminate in a prayer for the restoration of Israel, that "its horn be exalted" and the scattered people gathered. Through that the peoples of the world will perceive that the Lord alone is God, "over all kingdoms of the earth". This prayer for the restoration of Israel is not founded on the praying congregation's own merits. A man is not allowed to refer to his own merits (cf. Odeberg: Fariseism, 85 f.). **What are we etc.**, the prayer of R. Samuel, Joma 87 b. **and the preeminence etc.**: Eccl. 3:19. **Nevertheless etc.**: cf. Mechilta ad Ex. 15:18. The praying men do not claim to have merits of their own but they confess themselves to be God's people and children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Thus they refer to the covenant and the merits of the fathers. When Israel had sinned Moses prayed for forgiveness, but his prayer was heard only when he prayed for forgiveness for the sake of the fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Sabb. 30 a. Especially the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his son and the readiness of Isaac to offer up his life at God's command is regarded as a merit which God will always remember to the credit of Israel. These views are old. Cf. e. g. M. Taan, II, 4: the liturgy for a fast-day. Cf. further art. "Akedah", EJ; UJE; "Zechuth", UJE. **Abraham, thy friend:** cf. Is. 41:8; 2 Chron. 20:7. **didst swear etc.**: Gen. 22:16. **thine only one:** "i. e. the one uniquely offered to

reason of the love wherewith thou didst love him, and the joy wherewith thou didst rejoice in him.

It is, therefore, our duty to thank thee, to praise thee, to glorify thee, and to offer thanksgiving and praise unto thy name and to say before thee every day: Happy are we! How goodly is our portion and how pleasant our lot, and how beautiful our heritage, that we, early and late, evening and morning, every day always declare: *Hear, O Israel, JHWH, our God, JHWH, is one.*

Thou wast ere the world was created; thou hast been since the world hath been created; thou art in this world, and thou wilt be in the world to come. Sanctify thy name in thy world, and sanctify thy name upon them that sanctify thy name, and through thy salvation let our horn be exalted and raised on high. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who sanctifiest thy name amongst the many.

Thou art JHWH, our God, in heaven above and in the highest heavens. Thou art the first and thou art the last, and beside thee there is no God. Gather them that hope in thee from the four corners of the earth, and let all the inhabitants of the world perceive and know that thou art God, thou alone, over all kingdoms of the earth. Thou hast made the heavens and the earth, and which among all the works of thy hands, among the first or among the last, among those above or among those beneath, can say unto thee: What doest

thee on the altar" (Abr., xxii). The *Akedah* of Isaac is often referred to in the liturgy (cf. e. g. below, 175, 177). "While the sacrifice of Isaac is passed over without further reference in the rest of the Bible, it figures prominently in Rabbinic literature. The Mishna utilizes the incident in the special invocation for fast days: 'He who answered Abraham at Mount Moriah, may he also answer us' (Taan. II, 4). This incident is counted as the tenth test to which Abraham was subjected, and whereby he demonstrated his unswerving devotion to God" (Cohen: Original sin [HUCA, XXI, 316]). Cohen also points out that later Haggadas "seem to indicate that the idea of the sacrifice of Isaac in the light of an atonement for the sins of Israel aimed to overcome the claims of Christianity. The merit of the sacrifice of Isaac rendered the need of the justification through the death of Christ superfluous" (Cohen, ibid., 319). **thy firstborn son:** cf. Ex. 4:22. **Jeshurun:** cf. Deut. 32:15; Is. 44:2. The LXX translates Jeshurun by ἥγαπημένος and the liturgy here refers to this interpretation of the name, cf. Abr. xxii. **It is, therefore etc.** "As children of such fathers, we are under the obligation of following their footsteps, and by our lives glorify God's name" (Hertz, 29). **Happy are we:** this passage bears a trace of Ps. 16:5. **Hear etc.:** cf. above, p.21. **Thou wast etc.:** this passage is quoted in the Midrash as an eulogy spoken by the heavenly hosts, cf. Baer, 46, Abr. xxiii. Here this passage must mean, as Hertz puts it: "Make manifest thy holiness and righteousness by revealing before all nations thy saving power on behalf of Israel, the people who sanctify thee" (Hertz, 31). **Thou art etc.:** this prayer expresses longing for the restoration of Israel. Most of the clauses are references to biblical sentences. **Thou art our God,** cf. Jer. 14:22. **Thou art the first and the last,** cf. Is. 44:6. **From the**

thou? Our Father who art in heaven above, deal [kindly] with us for the sake of thy great and mighty and fearful name, fulfil unto us that which thou hast promised us through thy prophet, as it is written: *At that time will I bring you in, and at that time will I gather you; for I will make you a name and a praise among all the peoples of the earth, when I bring back your captivity before your eyes, saith JHWH.*

VIII. And the order which we have written above to read from the Scriptures "*Command [the children of Israel]*"], and to recite from the Mishna "Which are the places", and from the Midrash "R. Ishmael", is found thus in the Responsa, this is the usage of the whole Israel in Spain. And whence is it proven? R. Safra said in the name of R. Joshua, son of Hananja: "What is written: *Thou shall teach them diligently (shinnantam) unto thy children*, do not read *shinnantam* but *shillashtam* (divide them in three parts). A man should always divide his years into three parts, devoting one third to the Scriptures, one to the Mishna and one to the Talmud. And we object: his years — who can know how long he will live? And we answer: The [single] days are meant." This is why they ordained to

four corners of the earth, cf. Is. 11:12. **for the sake of thy great and fearful name**, cf. Ez. 36:22. **At that time etc.**: Zeph. 3:20. **Our Father who art in heaven**: cf. Math. 6:9, not a common liturgical phrase when used vocatively, Abr. xxiii. Klausner is wrong when stating that it is an expression found in many prayers (Klausner: Jesus of Nazareth, 387, cf. below, ch. C). But the idea of the fatherhood of God is very common in the liturgy. Cf. "With abounding love", below, ch. XX; "Our Father, our King", below, ch. LXVI. The same phrase repeated in every sentence in the prayer on penitential and fast days, cf. Baer, 109 ff.

VIII. **in the responsa:** i.e. the responsa of the Geonim. (Copies of the Gaonic responsa were preserved in the archives of the Geonim. Cf. Hildesheimer: Die Komposition der Sammlungen von Responsen der Gaonen [in Jüdische Studien Josef Wohlgemuht . . . gewidmet, Frankfurt am Main 1928, p. 177—271]). Thus the Geonim in the times before Amr. gave instruction that these passages from the Scripture, the Mishna, and the Midrash should be recited in this first part of the morning service in the Synagogue. **in Spain:** it is difficult to explain why Amr. says "in Spain". We would have expected "in Babylonia". **And whence is it proven?** i.e. which Talmudic dicta are the ground of the usage of reciting passages from the Scripture, the Mishna and the Midrash in the beginning of the morning service? R. Safra said etc.: Kidd. 30 a. R. Joshua b. Chananya, Tanna of the second generation, cf. Strack, 123 f. Thus this dictum takes us back to the end of the first century A.D. **do not read shinnantam:** by this exchange of the letters R. Josua arrives at the conclusion that the Israelite should give a third of his time to the study of the Scripture, a third to the Mishna and a third to the Talmud.

study the Midrash instead of the Talmud, for we read in the chapter "From what time": R. Judah said in the name of Samuel: If one rises early to study the Mishna before he has recited the *Shema*, he must say a *beraka* [over the study]. [But] after he has recited the *Shema* he need not say a *beraka*, because he has already acquitted himself by saying, "With abounding love". R. Huna said: For [the reading] of Scripture it is necessary to say a *beraka*, but for [the study of] the Mishna no *beraka* is required. R. Eleazar said: For [the study of] the Mishna a *beraka* is also required, but for the Talmud no *beraka* is required. R. Jochanan says: For the Talmud a *beraka* is also required. And that is the reason why R. Chiyya, son of Ashi, testifies: Many times I stood before Rab to repeat from the *Sifra* of the School of Rab, i. e. the commentary on the third Book of Moses, and he used first to wash his hands and [then] to teach us the sections.

for we read in the chapter "From what time": R. Judah etc., Ber. 11 b. he has already acquitted himself by saying "With abounding love": the second *beraka* before the *Shema* in the morning (cf. below, ch. XX) contains expressions which have the same significance as the *beraka* on the Torah (cf. above, ch. II). Therefore, if anyone has already recited "With abounding love" in the morning he need not recite a *beraka* before the reading of the Torah.—The quotation from Ber. 11 b is evidence that early Amoraim recognized the duty of reciting a *beraka* before reading the Scripture, the Mishna and the Talmud. (R. Samuel, Babylonian Amora of the first generation, cf. Strack, 137; R. Huna, Palestinian Amora of the fourth generation, cf. Strack, 144; R. Eleazar [b. Pedath], Palestinian Amora of the third generation, Strack, 140; R. Jochanan [b. Nappachal], Palestinian Amora of the second generation, Strack, 137; Rab (=Abba Areca), the famous disciple of Rabbi, founder and president of the academy at Sura, Strack, 136 f.). and say a *beraka* and then etc.: this is stated here as a proof that a *beraka* should be said before the study of the Talmud. Thus the Midrash is considered to be equal to the Talmud, cf. *Tur*, § 50.

The "Passages of Song".

IX. And when Israel goes into the synagogues in the cities to pray, the *chazzan* stands [there] and begins [by saying]:

IX—XIV. The chapters IX—XIV deal with the *pesuqe de zimra*, the "Passages of Song". They are preceded by the *beraka* "Blessed be he who spake" and followed by "Praised be thy name". The prescriptions regarding this part of the liturgy are given in *Tur*, § 51 and *SA*, § 51. The "Passages of Song" consist of Psalms and Psalm passages. The Psalter plays an important rôle in the Jewish liturgy. "The Prayer Book is impregnated with the spirit of the Psalter, containing, in addition to an unusually large number of Psalms, whole passages, and these the commonest and best known parts of the prayers, which are nothing more than a mosaic of verses from the Psalms. Were these elements to be removed from the Prayer Book, it would be left mutilated and unrecognizable" (Rabinowitz: The Psalms in the Jewish Liturgy, [Historia Judaica, VI, 109]). In the times of the Talmud the "Passages of Song" formed no part of the obligatory synagogue service, cf. Elb. 87. But it seems to have been an ancient usage to recite psalms before the beginning of this service. The reciting of psalms in connection with the daily prayer is mentioned for the first time in Sabb. 118 b (cf. Elb. 82) where the term *pesuqe de zimra* is used. The passage runs as follows: "R. Jose said: 'May my lot be with those who recite the entire Hallel every day.' But it cannot be so since the master said: 'He who recites the Hallel every day blasphemeth and revileth.' But we are speaking of the 'Passages of Song'." *Hallel* usually means Ps. 113—118 (called "the Egyptian Hallel", as Ps. 114 mentions the Exodus). But in Sabb. 118 b *Hallel* means the "Passages of Song". Sabb. 118 b does not mention which these psalms or psalm passages are. The tractate *Soferim*, quoting the dictum of R. Jose, renders it thus: "May my lot be with those who pray daily *these six psalms*" etc. (*Sof.* XVII, 11), i. e. Pss. 145—150. But Ri. (on Sabb. 118 b) thinks that Ps. 148 and 150 are meant in Sabb. 118 b. Jarchi (quoted by Baer, 58) thinks that the reference here is to Ps. 145—150. It is at least very probable that Ps. 145 formed a part of the "Passages of Song" from old times (cf. the dictum of R. Eleazar b. Abina, quoted in *Amr.* ch. XII). R. Jose, the distinguished disciple of R. Aqiba, belonged to the third generation of the Tannaim, cf. Strack, 129. From his utterance in Sabb. 118 b it may be inferred that in his time (the middle of the second century A.D.) some people at least used to recite the "Passages of Song" every day. But his words indicate too that it was not yet regarded as a religious duty to read these passages. From his dictum it may also be inferred that the practice of reading these passages cannot have been a new one in the times of R. Jose. It must have been known at least as early as in the first century A.D.

Blessed be he who spake, and the world came into existence. Blessed be he who speaketh and doeth. Blessed be he who decreeth and performeth. Blessed be he who made the beginning.

RaMBaM states that "the early sages lauded one who reads every day psalms from the Psalter, beginnng with the 'Psalm of David' (Ps. 145) and continuing to the end of the book" (RaMBaM, HT, VII, 13). Then he says that it is also a settled practice to read verses before and after these psalms, and that the sages ordained a *beraka* to be recited before the psalms and a *beraka* to be recited after them (RaMBaM, ibid.). It may be noted that RaMBaM makes a distinction between the reading of the Pss. 145—150 and the verses read before and after them: only the reciting of the Pss. 145—150 is spoken of as a usage lauded by the early sages. RaMBaM of course refers to Sabb. 118 b but like the tractate *Soferim* he has found there a mention of the Pss. 145—150, not only of Ps. 145. The tractate *Soferim* and RaMBaM, then, indicate that such a reading must have been found in Sabb. 118 b.

IX. And when Israel goes in into the synagogues etc. This implies that the public service began with the prayer "Blessed be he who spake", cf. Abr. xxix. **Blessed be he who spake etc.** This prayer does not occur in the Talmud but most of its phrases have parallels in the Scripture and in the Talmud (especially pointed out by Abudr., 19). Probably it is mentioned for the first time by Moses Gaon (ca. 825, cf. Elb. 84, Abr. xxx). Natr. only mentions its two initial words and the closing words "King, great in praises" (GG, II, 116). He calls it "the first *beraka* of the Hallel". As pointed out by Elb. (84) and Davidson (II, 75, no. 1675) this prayer consists of two parts. The second part begins with "Blessed be thou, JHWH" etc. Elb. thinks that the first part of the prayer is not original here, because it refers to the omnipotence and providence of God, "a theme not in question here at all" (Elb. 83). This arguement does not seem to be conclusive, since these divine attributes are main themes in Ps. 145—150. Nevertheless it is probable that the first part of the prayer is not original here, since, as Elb. and Davidson (loc. cit.) point out, it is missing in some of the oldest texts. Sa. prescribes it only for Sabbaths (Sa. 32, 118), and Amr. says that in the academy they only use the latter part of it (cf. below, ch. X). Elb. thinks that in Amr. the first part of this prayer is a later addition (Elb. 525). Against the arguments of Elb. the objection may be raised that the first part of it occurs in all the three MSS. of Amr. It must be stressed too that Natr. also presupposes the first part of the prayer since he gives its initial words. **he who spake, and the world came into existence:** cf. Ps. 33:9. Many parallels in the Talmud, cf. Baer, 58. MS. 31 adds: "Blessed be he." Baer (58) quotes the *Juchasin* as saying that at the installation of the exilarch in Bagdad the *chazzan* sang "Blessed . . . into existence" and the young men present responded "Blessed be he" (cf. Elb. 83. Regarding the installation of the exilarch, cf. Graetz, 130 ff.; Dubnow, 448 ff.). **who speaketh and doeth, who decreeth and performeth:** parallel passage Ber. 57 b

M:

Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the earth. Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the creatures. Blessed be he who rendereth a good reward to them that fear him. Blessed be he who causeth darkness to pass away, and bringeth forth light. Blessed be he, before whom there is neither iniquity, forgetfulness, nor respect of persons, nor the taking of bribes: he is righteous in all his ways.—And on the Sabbath he says: Blessed be he who has given the Sabbath, a rest to his people Israel. And on a festival he says: Blessed be he who has given festivals of gladness and periods of free-will offerings to his people Israel.—Blessed be God who liveth for ever and endureth to eternity, blessed be he and blessed be his name and blessed be his remembrance for ever.

O:

Blessed be God who liveth for ever and endureth to eternity. Blessed be he who causeth darkness to pass away, and bringeth forth light. Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the earth. Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the creatures. Blessed be he who rendereth a good reward to them that fear him. Blessed be he, before whom there is neither iniquity, forgetfulness, nor respect of persons, nor the taking of bribes, blessed be he, blessed his name. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, God, the great and holy King, merciful Father, praised by the mouth of thy people, lauded and glorified always by the tongue of all his pious ones and his servants, by the songs of David, thy servant, we will praise thee, JHWH, our God, with praises and psalms

S:

Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the earth. Blessed be he who hath mercy upon the creatures. Blessed be he who rendereth a good reward to them that fear him. Blessed be God who liveth for ever and endureth to eternity, blessed be he and blessed be his name. Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, God, King, praised and glorified and extolled by the tongue of all his pious ones and his servants and by the songs of thy servant David, JHWH, our God, by praises and psalms we will praise thee, magnify thee, extol thee and reverence thee and proclaim thee king, and make mention of thy name, our King, our God, the only one who liveth eternally, praised for ever and ever.

(benediction to be said on seeing the ruins of the city of Babylon). who made the beginning, i. e. who created the beginning of all things in the world (Baer, 58). The word *bereshit* in rabbinical Hebrew means creation (Levy, s. v.). Parallel passage: Ber. IX, 2 (benediction for awe-inspiring natural phenomena). who hath mercy upon the earth, cf. Ps. 65:10. who hath mercy upon the creatures, cf. Ps. 145:9. who rendereth a good reward etc. For the pharisaic conception of reward, cf. Odeberg: Fari-seism, 28 seqq. God rewards them that do his will but it is the duty of man to serve him without thought of reward, Abot I, 3. before whom there is neither iniquity etc.

¶:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, God, the great and holy King, the merciful Father, praised by the mouth of his people, lauded and glorified by the tongue of all his

pious ones and his servants, and by the songs of thy servant David, we will praise thee, JHWH, our God, with his praises and psalms we will praise thee, magnify thee, laud thee, glorify thee and extol thee and proclaim thee king, and sanctify thee, and reverence thee, and make mention of thy name, our King, our God, the only one who liveth eternally, praised and glorified be his name for ever and ever.

◎:

we will magnify and laud and extol thee, and make mention of thy name and proclaim thee our King, our God, the only one who liveth eternally, praised and glorified for ever and ever.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, King, extolled by praises.

And he who concludes: "by a multitude of praises" is making a mistake. For we read in the section "From what time do they mention the power of rain": R. Abahu said, and some said it is taught in a Baraitha: From what time do they say the *beraka* over rain? From the time when the bride-

Cf. Deut. 10:17. In Abot IV, 29 these phrases occur with reference to the judgement of God: "it is he that in the future will judge, blessed be he, with whom there is no iniquity" etc. Blessed be thou etc. These words, introducing the latter part of the prayer, express the aim of the whole prayer: to give every kind of praise to JHWH. Nearly every word alludes to Scriptural passages (cf. Abudr. 19 B).

And he who concludes etc. In old times there must have been differences with regard to the concluding phrase of this prayer. Amr. (all MSS.), Vitry (p. 61) and

groom goes out to meet the bride. And which *beraka* do they say? R. Judah said: 'We give thanks to thee, JHWH, our God, for every drop which thou hast caused to fall for us.' R. Jochanan concluded it in the following way: 'If our mouths were full of song like the sea, and our tongue [full of] exaltation as the noise of its waves, and our lips [full of] praise as the wide-extended firmament and our eyes [shone] as the sun and the moon, and our hands were as the eagles of heaven and our feet light as deer, we could not sufficiently give thanks unto thee, JHWH, our God, and bless thy name, for one thousandth or ten thousandth part of the bounties which thou hast bestowed upon us and upon our fathers. Thou didst redeem us from Egypt, JHWH, our God, and didst release us from the house of bondage; in famine thou didst feed us and sustain us with plenty; and from the sword thou didst rescue us, and from pestilence thou didst save us, and from sore and lasting diseases thou didst deliver us. Hitherto thy tender mercies have helped us, and thy lovingkindness has not left us.—Therefore the limbs which thou hast spread forth upon us, and the soul and the spirit which thou hast breathed into our nostrils, and the tongue which thou hast set in our mouths, they shall thank, bless, praise, and glorify thy name, our King. Blessed be thou, JHWH, God, to whom abundant thanksgivings are due'. And we object: 'Abundant thanksgivings' and not 'All thanksgivings?' And we

Rashi (§ 5) have "Blessed . . . extolled by praises". Natr. has ". . . great in praises" (GG, II, 116). Sa. (33) has ". . . extolled by words of song and praises for ever and ever". In the times of Amr. some people seem to have concluded by saying: ". . . by a multitude of praises". By citing Taan. 6 b Amr. proves that these words are wrong. in the section "From what time" etc., Taan. I. when the bridegroom etc., i.e. when so much rain has fallen on the earth that the drops rebound from the earth (cf. Ri. a.1.). 'We give thanks' etc.: quotation from a prayer mentioned in Ber. 59 b and Taan. 6 b, where phrases from it occur in the prayer for rain. Cf. also Baer, 206; Singer, 125 seq.

Zunz and Elb. (Elb. 84) think that "Blessed be he who spake" originates from the time of the Saboraim. But according to Amr. this prayer belongs to the hundred *berakot* referred to by R. Jose (cf. above, ch. III). And Amr. only states what is tradition in the academies of Babylonia (cf. above, ch. I a). This tradition, then, held that all the hundred *berakot* existed as early as in Tannaitic times. Certainly this tradition could not be easily refuted.

Tur (§ 51) observes that this prayer contains 87 words. *Tur* and later halakic works on the liturgy often give the number of the words contained in a prayer. (*Col Bo* sometimes gives also interpretations regarding the meaning of such numbers, cf. e. g. *Col Bo*, 2 b). Such numbers are not given in Amr. Counting of the words in the prayers seems

explain the differences of opinion [in the Baraitha]: "Raba said: 'God to whom thanksgivings are due'." And in the same way as he teaches "Abundant thanksgivings" and not "All thanksgivings" he teaches "Abundant praises" and not "All praises". Therefore, if anybody concludes with "Abundant praises" he should rightly keep silence.

X. But with us in the Academy the custom is this: The *chazzan* rises and says: "Some trust in chariots and some in horses" etc. "Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, God" etc. And he says:

Let the glory of JHWH endure for ever; let JHWH rejoice in his works. Let the name of JHWH be blessed from this time and for evermore. From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same the name of JHWH is to be praised. JHWH is high above all nations, his glory is above the heavens. Thy name, JHWH, [endureth] for ever, thy memorial, JHWH, throughout all generations. JHWH hath established his throne in the heavens, and his kingdom ruleth over all. Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice, and let them say among the nations: JHWH reigneth. JHWH is king; JHWH was king; JHWH shall be king for ever and ever. JHWH is king for ever and ever; the heathen are perished out of his land. JHWH has frustrated the design of the nations; he hath foiled the thoughts of the peoples. Many are the thoughts in a man's heart; but the counsel of JHWH, that shall stand. The counsel of JHWH standeth fast for ever, the thoughts of his heart to all

to originate from the German Chasidim of the Middle Ages. Jacob ben Asher tells, in the name of his brother Jechiel, that the German Chasidim used to count and calculate every word in the prayers and the benedictions and they sought a reason in the Torah for the number of the words in the prayers (*Tur*, § 113). Cf. Scholem: Major trends in Jewish mysticism, 100.

X. But with us in the Academy etc.: thus in the academy they used to recite only the latter part of the *beraka*. (Cf. Sa. 32). This recitation was preceded by Ps. 20:8. Let the glory etc.: This passage (first mentioned in Sof. XVII, 11; cf. Elb. 85) is composed of verses from the Scripture, with the exception of the words "JHWH is King" etc. It glorifies the revelation of God in nature and in history, thus being a parallel to the Ps. 145—150. It is composed of the following verses: Ps. 104:31; 113:2—4; 135:13; 103:19. I Chron. 16:31; Ps. 10:16; 33:10; Prov. 19:21; Ps. 33:11; 33:9; 132:13; 135:3; 94:14; 78:38; 20:10. It has been appropriately remarked that these verses "are arranged in an order which is suggested by similarity not only of idea but of phrase. An examination of the Hebrew will show that for the most part each sub-

generations. For he spake, and it was; he commanded, and it stood fast. For JHWH hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation. For JHWH hath chosen Jacob unto himself, Israel for his peculiar treasure. For JHWH will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance. And he, being merciful, forgiveth iniquity and destroyeth not. He many a time turneth his anger away and doeth not stir up all his wrath. Save, JHWH, may the King answer us on the day when we call.

Happy are they that dwell in thy house: they will be ever praising thee. Selah. Happy is the people, that is in such a case: happy is the people, whose God is JHWH.

"A psalm of praise of David" etc. to "for ever and ever".

sequent verse contains some word or idea already contained in the preceding" (Abr., xxxv). The sentence "JHWH is King" etc. is composed of phrases from Ps. 10:16; 93:1; Ex. 15:18. They obviously refer to the holy name JHWH. Consequently Baer, 68, explains these phrases as follows: "'JHWH is King' from the time when the world was created. 'JHWH was King': before the world was created. 'JHWH shall be King': for ever and ever." This clause is considered very important. "It became one of the most solemn declarations in Judaism, and forms part of the dying Jew's Confession of Faith" (Hertz, 85). The passage "Let the glory" etc. is considered to contain the holy name JHWH 21 times, as many as the verses in Ps. 145 (Baer, 68). Thus there is a correspondence between this passage and Ps. 145.—Elb. thinks that the passage mentioned in Sof. XVII, 11, is not identical with our "Let the glory", Elb. 85. But it may be pointed out that there is only a slight difference between the text of Amr. and the text of Sa. (in Sa. Ps. 132:3 is lacking but between Ps. 33:10 and Prov. 19:21 it has Is. 8:10, cf. Sa. 33. Thus Sa. has as many verses from the Scripture as Amr.). There is no reason to think that the conformity of the text of Amr. to the text of this passage in later siddurim, is due to alterations which copyists have made in Amr. And as the form of "Let the glory" is almost the same in Amr. and Sa. it seems reasonable to think that it was shaped long before their time, and that it may be identical with the passage mentioned in Sof. XVII, 11. **Happy are they** etc.: Ps. 84:5; 144:15. In Ber. 32 b Ps. 32 b is used to justify the practice of going to the synagogue for an hour before service begins. Ber. V:1 says: "The pious men of old used to wait an hour before praying in order that they might concentrate their thoughts upon their Father in heaven." This they did in the place where they were to pray (Bert. a.l.) i. e. the synagogue. Ber. 32 b gives Ps. 84:5 as the scriptural basis for the practice of coming to the synagogue an hour before the beginning of the service. The idea can hardly be that they stayed there for an hour in silence. "It is possible that in ancient (as in modern) times, devout souls . . . recited the whole Psalter daily" (Abr. xxxvii). Abr. thinks that such a collection of verses as "Let the glory" may be a reminiscence of, or a substitute for, an ancient custom of this kind (Abr., ibid.). Kohler thinks that especially the fifth book of the Psalter "appears to have been recited by some Hasidim every morning . . . At a

XI. And this verse is added after "for ever and ever": "But we will bless JHWH from this time forth and for evermore. Hallelujah" in order to combine Hallelujah with Hallelujah, for all passages as far as "Let everything that hath breath praise JHWH, Hallelujah" end with a passage of Hallelujah and their beginning is a passage of Hallelujah. And the Hallelujah that is after "my mouth shall speak the praise of JHWM" is initial passage, and therefore "But we will bless JHWH" etc. is added here.

XII. And a man ought to concentrate his mind in the "Psalm of praise of David" because R. Eleazar, son of Abina, said: Whoever recites the "Psalm of praise of David" daily is sure that he is a son of the world to come. And we read [in the Talmud]: What is the reason? Should he say it because it has an alphabetical arrangement? Then let him recite "Happy are they that are undefiled in the way" which has an eightfold alphabetical arrangement. Or is it because it is written: "Thou openest thy hand"? Then let him recite the great Hallel where it is written: "who giveth food to all

later time only the last five Psalms were daily recited in the early morning, and, in addition to these, other Psalms or 'Psalm-verses', called *P'suke De Zimra*, were recited in the early service previous to the Shema Benedictions, as a substitute for the whole Psalter" (Kohler: The Origins of the Synagogue and the church, 91).

"A psalm of praise" etc.: Ps. 145.

XI. And this verse etc.: Ps. 115:18 is added to Ps. 145 in order that Ps. 145 may close with "Hallelujah". Thus Ps. 145 like the Psalms 146—150 begins with "Hallelujah" and ends with "Hallelujah". "Let everything" etc.: Ps. 150:6. my mouth shall speake etc.: Ps. 145:21.—This passage from Amr. is quoted in *Tur*, § 51.—Talmud regards "Hallelujah" as the most exalted form of praise of God. PT Succa, III, 12 enumerates ten words of praise used in the Psalter but adds: "The strongest [expression] of all is Hallelujah because the name of God and the praise [Hallel] are included in it."

XII. And a man ought to concentrate etc.: A man cannot fulfil his duty by a mere mechanical recitation of Ps. 145. As for the term *kawvana* cf. above, p. 6. The dictum of R. Eliezer (Ber. 4 b) thus presupposes mental concentration upon the contents of Ps. 145 and the earnest intention to be a man who can truthfully say of himself what the author of Ps. 145 says of himself. The author says he is a man "whose inmost need is the praise of God". "Whoever recites the 'Psalm of praise of David' daily" etc.: the reading of our Talmud is "three times daily". an alphabetical arrangement: Ps. 145 is alphabetical, except that there is no line beginning with the letter *nun*. Jewish commentators explain that *nun* is missing because it is the first letter of *nafela*,

flesh." And we conclude: rather because it contains both. There is an alphabetical arrangement, and [there it is] written too: "Thou openest thy hand."

XIII. And after "But we will bless JHWH from this time and for evermore, Hallelujah," he begins: "Halleluja. Praise JHWH, my soul" etc. "Hallelujah, For it is good" etc. "Hallelujah. Praise JHWH from the heavens" etc. "Hallelujah. Sing unto JHWH a new song" etc. "Hallelujah. Praise God in his sanctuary" etc. "And David blessed JHWH" to "and praise thy glorious name".

XIV. And the *sheliach sibbur* stands and concludes:

Praised be thy name for ever, our King, the great and holy God and King in heaven and on earth; for unto thee, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, song and praise are becoming; hymn and psalm, strength and dominion, victory and might, greatness and renown and glory, holiness and sovereignty, blessings and thanksgivings to thy great name. From henceforth and forever thou art God. Blessed be thou, JHWH, King, great in praises, God of

Am. 5:2 (cf. Ri. on Ber. 4 b). "Happy are" etc.: Ps. 119. "Who giveth food" etc.: Ps. 145:16. **the great Hallel:** Ps. 136, cf. v. 25. rather because it contains both: it has a unique universality because it has an alphabetical arrangement and it also praises God as the sustainer of all.

XIII. And after etc.: after Ps. 145, concluded by the verse Ps. 115:18, the chazzan recites the Psalms 146—150. "**And David**" etc.: 1 Chron. 29:10—13.—In later times the "Passages of Song" were much extended, cf. Baer, 59 ff. Among these later additions are Neh. 9:6—11 and Ex. 14:30—15:18, cf. Baer, 72 f. These two passages are found in **M** too (but **M** begins the quotation from Neh. by 9:5 b).—Sa. only has Ps. 145, 147—150, and after these psalms Ps. 89:53 and 1 Chron. 29:13, cf. Sa. 33.

XXX.

XIV. And the *sheliach sibbur* etc., cf. Introd., p. ~~99~~ "Praised be thy name" etc.: This passage is the *beraka* after reading the "Passages of Song", just as "Blessed be he who spake" is the *beraka* before this section. "Praised be thy name" does not begin by "Blessed" because it adjoins to "Blessed be he who spake", cf. *Tur*, § 54. "Praised be thy name" is similar to the *beraka* after Hallel, cf. Baer, 332, Elb. 86. "Praised be thy name" contains fifteen terms of praise and adoration. "Hebrew is remarkably rich in the vocabulary of adoration and worship" (Hertz, 106). Some authorities think that the number "fifteen" corresponds to the fifteen Songs of Ascents (Ps. 120—134) which are thought to correspond to the fifteen steps in the Temple on which the Levites sang songs, Baer, 75. The text of "Praised be thy name" in Amr.

thanksgivings, Lord of wonders, Lord of all works, who makest choice of song and psalm, who liveth eternally.

And a man ought at once to begin reciting the *Shema* by "who formest the light", and it is forbidden to talk between "Praised" and the reciting of the *Shema*.

agrees with that of Vitry, cf. Vitry, p. 64. But there are important differences between the text of Amr. and the text of Sa., cf. Sa. 34. In Sa., for instance, the terms of praise and adoration are not fifteen, but eleven, and the concluding sentence has the phrase "a multitude of praises" which Amr. decidedly rejects, cf. above, ch. IX. Praised, cf. Ps. 106:47. thy name etc., cf. Ps. 145:1. holy God, cf. Is. 5:16. for unto thee etc., cf. Jer. 10:7. Lord of wonders, cf. Ex. 15:11. who liveth eternally, cf. Dan. 12:7.

and it is forbidden, cf. *Tur*, § 54, where this prescription is expressly quoted from Amr. SA, § 54:3, states that talking here is a great sin. But SA adds that according to one opinion it is allowed to talk about the metetrs of the congregation after this prayer, cf. below, ch. XVII.

The Reciting of the Shema.

XV. And it is our duty to be careful that we recite the *Shema* in its time, as it is taught in the Mishna: From what time may one recite the *Shema* in the morning? From the time that one can distinguish between

XV—XXX. These chapters deal with the *Shema*. (Cf. RaMBaM, HS, I—IV; SA § 58—88; Elb. 16—26.) This part of the service derives its name from the first word of Deut. 6:4, this verse being Israel's confession to the one and only eternal God. The *Shema* consists of this verse and other passages from the Torah and benedictions before and after them. In Amr. only MS. 21 gives the Scriptural texts (fol. 21): Deut. 6:4—9; 11:13—21; Num. 15:37—41. But there is no doubt that the other MSS. presuppose these same texts, since they were used in the times of the Talmud (cf. below, notes on ch. XXI). The first of these passages is considered especially important. "The section 'Hear' is recited first, because it sets forth the duties of acknowledging the unity of God, loving him and studying his words. This is the great and essential matter on which all depends" (RaMBaM, HS, I, 2).

In the morning service two *berakot* are recited before these Scriptural passages and one after them, cf. below, ch. XX, XXIX, and in the evening service two *berakot* are recited before, and two after, the Scriptural sections. "From immemorial times the reading of the *Shema* has been preceded and followed by benedictions" (Dembitz, 89). This statement by Dembitz is justified by the fact that the Mishna speaks of these benedictions as institutions which have always existed (cf. Ber. I, 4). There is, thus, good reason to think that, substantially at least, they were in use long before the times of Christ.

The *Shema* should be recited morning and evening, and this is regarded as a Scriptural ordinance given in Deut. 6:7, cf. Ber. I, 3. "The recital of the *Shema* every morning and evening was, in distinction to the Prayers, taken by all the ancients as a Mosaic commandment derived from Deut. 6:7 and 11:19, as shown in the Mishnah Ber. I, 3, where the schools of Shammai and Hillel differ only in regard to the mode of recital, but never doubted its Mosaic character" (Kohler: Origins of synagogue and church, 54).

XV. we recite the *Shema* in its time etc. The *Shema* should be recited in its proper time which is before sunrise, so that the benediction after it is said exactly at sunrise

blue and white. And one has taught: Between the blue in it and the white in it. And we have a Baraitha by R. Meir: As soon as one can distinguish between a wolf and a dog. R. Aqiba says: Between an ass and a wild ass. Others say: As soon as one can distinguish his neighbour at a distance of four cubits. And we read in the Talmud: R. Huna said: The Halacha is as stated by the 'Others'. Abaye said: In regard to the Tefillin the Halacha is as stated by the 'Others', in regard to [the recital of] the *Shema* as [practised by] the Wattiqin. For R. Jochanan said: The Wattiqin used to finish it at sunrise. And we have also a Baraitha to the same effect: R. Jochanan b. Thema says: The commandment about it [is in force] at sunrise, so that the *Geulla* should be followed immediately by the *Tefilla*, hence he should say the *Tefilla* in the day time. And this is the preferable way of performing this religious act. And he who recites the *Shema* in its time gets reward more than for studying the Torah. For the Mishna teaches concerning the commandment about reciting the *Shema* "Until what time" [the *Shema* is to be recited]: R. Eliezer says: Until sunrise. R. Joshua says: Until the third hour [of the day]. And from that which

(cf. RaMBaM, HS, I, 11; SA § 58:1). The Mishna discusses how to determine the moment at daybreak when the recital should begin. (RaMBaM gives a fixed point of time: the recital should begin a tenth of an hour before sunrise, RaMBaM, ibid.). **as it is taught in the Mishna**, Ber. I, 2. **And one has taught**, Ber. 9 b. **the blue in it**: refers to a lump of wool which had been dyed blue, but had some white spots in it (Ri. a.l.). But PT refers the dictum to the fringes, PT Ber. I, 5. **And we have a Baraitha** etc., Ber. 9 b. "**Others**": frequent in the Mishna for anonymous authorities differing in opinion, cf. Jastrow, 41 a. "**In regard to the Tefillin**" etc., i. e. the time for putting them on (cf. Ri. a.l.). They should be put on before the reciting of the *Shema*, Ber. 14 b. **the Wattiqin**, this title is here applied to certain men in times past who set an example of exceptional piety, "men who were meek and carried out the commandment from pure love" (Ri. a.l.). "Wattiq" means "strong" (cf. Jastrow, s. v.). It does not seem possible to determine what religious group or tendency these men are supposed to represent (some identify them with the Essenes, cf. e. g. ERE, II, 99, some think they were the priests of the Temple, cf. Kohler: Origins of the synagogue and church, 55, and some hold that they were mystics, cf. Abelson: Jewish mysticism, 24). **And we have also a Baraitha**: Hurwitz observes (Vitry, p. 7, footnote 4) that this Baraitha is not found in Ber. 9 b, although it occurs in the Halachoth Gedoloth and in Vitry, p. 7. **the Geulla** the benediction after the *Shema* in the morning service, cf. below, ch. XXIX. **gets reward** etc.: cf. Ber. 10 b: "R. Mani said: He who recites the *Shema* in its proper time is greater than he who studies the Torah." A man who studies the Torah is promised

is taught [in the Mishna] at the end: He who recites the *Shema* later does not lose anything, but he is just like one reading in the Torah, derives, that it is much better to recite the *Shema* in its time than to study the Torah. And the Halacha is decided according to R. Joshua. And he loses nothing which is taught [in the Mishna]: what is the explanation? He loses no *berakot* but he recites *berakot* before it and after it, and although he recites it after two hours, he ought not to change in the reciting of the *Shema* that which the rabbis of old times ordained.

XVI. And in regard to what we said [above], that a man may recite the *Shema* after two hours, it is certainly not a priori permissible to do so, and he who does so with an intention that is not due to force and not to his being detained by the performing of a commandment, is called a sinner.

reward, cf. Ginzberg: Legends, IV, 432; VI, 167. Concerning reward for reciting the *Shema*, cf. Billerbeck, IV, 203 ff. He loses no *berakot*, i. e. he may recite the prescribed benedictions before it and after it, although he does not fulfil his duty if he recites it after the first three hours of the day. Cf. RaMBaM, HS, I, 13: "If anyone recites the *Shema* after the first three hours of the day are gone, even if he has been unavoidably prevented from doing it earlier, he has not fulfilled the duty of reciting the *Shema* at the right time. He is in the same category with one who reads the Torah. He could still recite the *berakot* that precede and follow it, at any part of the day, even if he delayed the reading till after the first three hours of the morning had elapsed." although he recites it after two hours, cf. below, ch. XVI.

XVI. And in regard to etc. Ber. I, 2 prescribes that the morning *Shema* may be recited "until the third hour", i. e. until the end of the third hour (cf. Bert. a. l. Cf. also Löw: Gesammelte Schriften, IV, 138 ff.). One hour is a twelfth of the day (cf. Krauss, TA, II, 421). The *Shema* may, then, be recited in the first quarter of the day (cf. Bert. a. l.; SA, § 58:1). But Amr. seems to interpret the expression *ad shalosh shaot* differently: he thinks apparently, that it means "until the end of the second hour".

This passage occurs also in Vitry, p. 7. The editor of Vitry remarks in a foot-note that Rabbenu Jonah and some other medieval authorities explain the expression *ad shalosh shaot* in the same way as Amr.—is called a sinner, i. e. a man who neglects his duty.

The question discussed in this chapter is whether it is permissible to recite the *Shema* after the prescribed time. (The time to be preferred for this recital is that which is observed by the Wattiqin, i. e. immediately before day-break. But the *Shema* may be recited until the end of the second hour, according to Amr. But the question is whether it may be recited after the end of the second hour.)

Amram's answer is that the individual is not permitted to recite the *Shema* after the second hour of the day, if he recites the *Shema* by himself. But it is permissible to recite it later, if it is necessary out of regard to many, i. e. in order that they may fulfil the duty of reciting the *Shema*.

And in which case is it permissible to delay? On Sabbaths and Holy Days, for instance, and on a public fast day when they wait until the congregation is gathering, or disciples who sit and study and their study is prolonged. In such cases when many come together [it is right] for if they do not tarry until they gather, many would be prevented from reciting the *Shema* and from praying the *Tefilla*, or when disciples sit and learn and the housefathers come to learn from their discussions. And in regard to the Wattiqin [i. e. the reciting of the *Shema* according to the custom of the Wattiqin] it is of rare accurrence, for not everybody is able to adapt himself to the custom of the Wattiqin. Although R. Jochanan said [concerning the statement of the Mishna: "They must interrupt (their doings) to recite the *Shema*, but they need not interrupt them for the *Tefilla*"]: They taught this only with regard to the first generations, e. g. R. Simon b. Jochai and his colleagues whose study was their trade. But such men as we must interrupt for the *Shema* and the *Tefilla*. This is so in the case of the afternoon *Tefilla* because it is difficult to observe the set time [for it], or with regard to the morning *Shema*, if it is not necessary [to protract the time] out of consideration for others. But if it is advantageous to do so, because many are concerned and only a few are able to adapt themselves to the custom of the Wattiqin, it is right to delay. But on general days it is forbidden to walk out on the way before reciting the *Shema* and the *Tefilla*, since R. Idi b. Abin said in the name of R. Isaac b. Ashian: It is forbidden for a man to do his own business before he says the *Tefilla*, as it is said: *Righteousness shall go before him and then he shall set his steps on his own way*. And the reciting of the *Shema* and the *Tefilla* is in the same legal category.

Study of the Torah should be interrupted for the recital of the *Shema* (cf. Sabb. 11 a). But Amr. states that it is not necessary to interrupt the study, if many study together.

The details of ch. XVI are in part somewhat obscure.

when they wait, i. e. the leaders of the service are present at the right time but they have to wait until the congregation gathers in order that the members of the congregation may be released from their duty of reciting the *Shema*. **the householders**, i. e. the laymen. Although R. Jochanan etc., Sabb. 11 a. with regard to the afternoon *Tefilla*, as regards the time for the afternoon *Tefilla*, cf. Elb. 98. **walk out on the way**, i. e. do his business.

since R. Idi b. Abin said etc., Ber 14 a. **Righteousness** etc., Ps. 85:14.

XVII. And that which we said [above] that it is forbidden to talk between "Praised" and the reciting of the *Shema*: This has reference only to things that are not necessary to the congregation. But of the needs of the congregation and of the need of one who has come to be supported by the congregation, and they ask that an alms be apportioned to him, there is no prohibition. But after having talked about their needs the *chazzan* rises, and before he says "Bless" he begins in the following way:

XVII. **And that which we said etc., cf. above, ch. XIV. But of the needs of the congregation etc.** SA § 54:3 says, that the opinion of many is that it is allowable to talk of the needs of the congregation, or to decide regarding an alms between these prayers. **he begins in the following way:** the *chazzan* is now to recite the Kaddish. He recites it alone, the congregation giving response. "Public service still takes mainly the form that *one* speaks and the rest respond" (Abr. xl).

The Kaddish, cf. Elb. 92—98. Among the literature on the Kaddish (cf. Elb. 92) David De Sola Pool: The old Jewish aramaic prayer, the Kaddish, is especially important. (Cf. also the art. "Kaddish" by the same author, UJE, VI, 273—275.) It is generally assumed that the Kaddish was originally a doxology entreating for the speedy coming of the Messianic kingdom, and that it was used as a conclusion of the Haggadic exposition of the Scriptures, Elb. 93; Pool, 7 ff. Because of this use it was composed in Aramaic. "It is only natural that the doxology to a discourse held in the vernacular, should be also in the vernacular. In the lecture room, and in the synagogue as a lecture room, Aramaic largely held sway" (Pool, 11). The oldest authority on the Kaddish is R. Jose b. Chalafta (belonging to the third generation of Tannaim, Strack, 129), Ber. 3 a. But R. Jose only quotes the response "Let his great name" etc. which does not necessarily imply the existence of the Kaddish. Yet it is probable that R. Jose's quotation refers to the prayer (cf. Pool, 21). The prayer is first referred to under the name of Kaddish and definitely quoted in the tractate Soferim (cf. Elb. 94; Pool, 21). It is mentioned there after the reading of the Torah, in connection with "Bless ye" (i. e. before the *beraka* "who formest the light") and as a conclusion of the *Tefilla* (cf. Elb. 94). In Amr. it occurs in the different places in the liturgy it has held ever since (Elb. 94), and the complete text of the prayer is given for the first time in Amr. (Elb. 96).

The Talmudic references to the Kaddish are scanty (cf. Elb. 93). But this fact may be accounted for in the following way: "The comparative silence of the Talmud about the Kaddish is explained by the fact that at early times it was not made subject of Halacha as were the *Shema* and the *Shemone 'Esre'*" (Pool, 21). It is not mentioned in Meg. IV, 3 as requiring ten persons present for its recitation (Pool, ibid.).

The Kaddish is certainly an old prayer. Pool thinks that the absence of all references to Jerusalem and the destroyed Temple, the simple eschatology, the plain, unmystical language, straightforward form, agreement in wording, and its anonymity point to an early date. "The first two considerations would seem to set it before 72 C. E., and the

M:

Magnified and sanctified be his great name. Amen. In the world which he has created according to his will.

O:

Magnified and sanctified and praised be his great name in the world which he has created according to his will.

S:

Magnified and sanctified be his great name. Amen. In the world which he hath created according to his will.

fact that the wording, except for one or two minor additions in some cases, agrees exactly in all rites, would support an early date" (Pool, 21, cf. Elb. 93). This statement refers to what is the original Kaddish, according to Pool's opinion,—the first paragraph with the response of the congregation (Pool, 8). To these reasons for an early date of the Kaddish, the following may be added: In Amr. (as the tractate Soferim) the Kaddish takes a very important place in the synagogue service: it is used to mark the end of the principal sections of the service (cf. Elb. 92). As the synagogue service is looked upon as a divine institution, given in the old times, it seems improbable that such an important part of it as the Kaddish would be an innovation, introduced for instance in the Talmudic times. It could not, at any rate, have been introduced in such a late time without causing a dispute that would have left its traces in the Talmud. But Pool is certainly right when pointing out that there is an "original Kaddish" consisting of the first paragraph and the following response (cf. Pool, 8 ff., 26). The following paragraph ("Blessed and praised" etc.) seems to be "a florid working out" of the response of the congregation, "intended to magnify the finale and make it most impressive" (Pool, 54). This paragraph must therefore be younger than the first one.

The similarity between the Kaddish and the three first prayers in the Lord's Prayer, Mt. 6:9, 10, is often pointed out (cf. e. g. Elb. 93; Pool, 21; HDB, III, 142). From this resemblance Jewish scholars have often inferred that Christ must have known the Kaddish (cf. e. g. Pool, 21; Kohler: Jewish theology, 331). On account of other reasons, stated above, it seems to be evident that this prayer existed in the times of Christ, and it follows as a matter of course that he must have known it. The similarity between the Kaddish and the three first petitions of the Lord's Prayer is also obvious. Box points out this similarity in the following passage: "Here, [i. e. in the Kaddish] as in the Lord's Prayer, the sanctification of the divine Name means the recognition and reverence of the true God throughout the whole world; and this consummation in turn depends upon the speedy advent of God's Kingdom, i. e. the visible triumph of the rule of God. The underlying ideas are essentially eschatological, and in fact reflect the influence of such passages as Ezek. xxxvi, 23, xxxviii, 23, which belong to the great eschatological section of Ezekiel (xxxvi—xxxviii), and form an excellent commentary on the prayer. The Kaddish may, in fact, be regarded as a compendium of eschatological doctrine" (Box: St. Matthew, 129).

Magnified and sanctified: a characteristic of the oldest part of the Kaddish is the synonymous doubling of expressions, "recalling very strongly the method of aiming at emphasis, common in the period after the forceful power and incisiveness of the

M:**O:****S:**

And may he establish his kingdom during your life and during your days and during the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time. Amen. Let his great name be blessed for ever and ever and to And may he establish his kingdom during your life and during your days and during the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time. And the congregation responds, Amen. Let his great name be bless- And may he establish his kingdom during your life and during your days and in their life, all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time, and say ye: Amen. And the congregation responds: Amen.

language of the early prophets had been lost, so frequently found in the book of Daniel" (Pool, 27). These words form a Messianic prayer growing out of Ezek. 38:23 (cf. Pool, 27). **his great name:** a direct name of God in the Kaddish is obviously avoided (Pool, 29). **in the world etc.** "God's Glory and Kingship are fully revealed in Heaven. The prayer is for their full revelation upon the earth" (Pool, 32). **created:** "... the idea of creation itself being one grand witness to the glorifying of God's Name on the earth" (Pool, 33). **And may he establish his kingdom:** the kingdom of God is established when all men willingly "take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven", i.e. recognize God as their king and obey him. This will be the case in the Messianic time. **during your life:** "the suffix shows that the doxology was not taken up by the congregation" (Pool, 40). **and in the life of the house of Israel:** "even private prayers according to one opinion (Abaye, Ber. 29 b) should be framed so as to include the whole congregation, and from an extension of the same principle the prayer of a congregation is usually made to include the whole congregation of Israel" (Pool, 41). **Amen. Let his great name etc.,** the response of the congregation. The Talmud stresses the importance of this response, cf. below, ch. LXXXIII.

Blessed etc. Pool thinks that this paragraph dates perhaps from the first centuries A.D. (UJE, VI, 274). "The almost complete agreement in the wording of the paragraph in every ritual points to its having been old and traditional long before the Gaonic period [7th—11th cent.]. The subsequent paragraphs dating from the late Talmudic or Gaonic times, show many variations in their traditions. Of this paragraph there is only one tradition and that is shared by every rite" (Pool, 55). But it is hardly possible to prove that this paragraph dates from the first centuries A.D. It may as well have existed as early as at the times of Christ.

Blessed, Amen. Pool points out that Amr., RaMBaM and many MSS. treat this **Blessed** as a part of the response requiring an **Amen** after it (Pool, 58). Most of the following terms hint at Scriptural phrases, e.g. Dan. 4:34; Is. 6:1; 57:15; Prov. 31:30. **be the name of the Holy One etc.,** cf. Neh. 9:5. **Though he be high above all**

M:

all eternity. Blessed, Amen, and praised and glorified and exalted and extolled and honoured and magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. Though he be high above all blessings and hymns and praises and consolations which are uttered in the world. And say ye: Amen.

O:

ed for ever and ever and to all eternity. And he says: Blessed be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, Amen. Praised and glorified and exalted and honoured and magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. Amen. Though he be high above all the blessings and hymns and praises and consolations which are uttered in the world. And say ye: Amen.

S:

Let his great name be blessed for ever and ever and to all eternity. And he says: Blessed, Amen, praised and exalted, and extolled and honoured and magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. Amen. Though he be high above all the blessings and hymns and praises and consolations which are uttered in the world. And say ye: Amen.

And he says:

Bless ye JHWH, who is to be blessed.

And the congregation responds:

Blessed be JHWH, who is to be blessed, for ever and ever.

etc., "i.e. the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, may be above all songs and praises with which a man extols and praises a human king" (Abudr. 21 B).

Blessed etc. All these terms of praise hint at Scriptural phrases, Is. 65:16; Ps. 106:47 etc. (cf. Abudr. 21 B). "The key-note of the Kaddish are the glorification of God and the speedy expectation of his kingdom" (Abr. xli).

And he says: Bless ye etc. (cf. Elb. 17). This invocation forms the introduction to the main part of the service (cf. Abr. xli). The *sheliach sibbur* calls the congregation to prayer, just as after a common meal: one of the company calls upon the rest to offer thanks, Ber. VII, 3. In Ber. VII, 3 (end) these invocations are expressly compared. Consequently they must have existed in Tannaitic times. **And the congregation answers: Blessed** etc. This response is ordained in the name of R. Ishmael, Ber. VII, 3. (R. Ishmael belonged to the second generation of Tannaim, Strack, 124 seq.). The "Bless ye" etc. must have existed before this response was ordained which implies that it was in use in the times of Christ.

But before the academy he says "Bless ye", since it is not the custom of the members of the academy to talk, and it is not necessary to say "Magnified".

XVIII.

M:

And thus says R. Nachshon, president of the academy: Bows which they bow at the Kaddish [are the following]: when he has said "Magnified and sanctified be his great name", one bows; "even speedily and at a near time", one bows; "blessed and praised", one bows; "the name of the Holy One, blessed be He", one bows; "he who maketh

O:

Thus says R. Nachshon, president of the academy, his memory be a blessing: Bows which they bow at the Kaddish [are the following]: When he says: "Magnified and sanctified", one bows; "Let his great name", one bows; "and blessed be his great name", one bows; "and magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One", one bows; "he

S:

And thus says R. Nachshon, president of the academy: Bows which they bow at the Kaddish [are the following]: When he has said: "Magnified and sanctified be his great name", one bows; "during your life and during your days and in the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time", one bows; "and blessed be the

But before the academy etc.: The members of the academy do not pray in the synagogue but in the place where they study, cf. Ber. 8 a. RaMBaM says: "A house of study is superior to a synagogue. Eminent sages, notwithstanding that there were synagogues in their towns, only prayed in the places where they engaged in the study of the Torah" (RaMBaM, HT, VIII, 3). **since it is not the custom of the members of the academy to talk etc.:** as they had no congregational matters to discuss, as those mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Thus it is unnecessary to recite the Kaddish in this place in the service, since the Kaddish is used as a conclusion of essential parts of the service. But when there is no interruption between the two parts of the service here in question, the Kaddish need not be recited here.

XVIII. And thus says R. Nachshon etc.: R. Nachshon b. Zadok, gaon at Sura 874—882 (cf. JE, V, 571; IX, 146), the successor of R. Amram, cf. Graetz, 233 seq. The Talmud does not prescribe bows in the Kaddish, but as early as in the ninth century A.D. old precepts about this act of adoration in connection with the Kaddish must have existed. It has been felt as a lack that Amr. did not contain such precepts. This dictum of his successor has therefore been added here. As pointed above (p. 24) the responsa of the Geonim were preserved in the archives. The Geonim could therefore easily quote statements of their predecessors, as Amr. in the present work often refers to R. Natronai. But from chapter XVIII it also appears that statement of later Geonim

M:

peace", one bows, and this is optional. And these five bows correspond to four names which are in the verse: *For from the rising of the sun even unto going down of the same my name is great* etc. And "Amen. Let his great name" which they respond in unison. Why? It corresponds to *Magnify JHWH with me, and let us exalt his name together.*

O:

who maketh peace", one bows, but this is optional. And these four bows correspond to four names which are in one verse. And this is the verse: *For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great* etc. And "Amen. Let his great name" which they respond in unison corresponds to *Magnify JHWH with me, and let us exalt his name together.*

S:

name of the Holy One", one bows; "magnified and glorified be the name", one bows; "he who maketh peace", one bows, but this is optional. And these four bows correspond to four names which are in the verse: *For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same etc. "Amen. Let the name" which they respond in unison. Why? It corresponds to: Magnify JHWH with me, and let us exalt his name together.*

could be added to the work of their predecessors. As this chapter is found in all three MSS. of Amr. it may have been added to the book in Babylon. If this be so, it would seem probable that our MSS. of Amr. originate from the copy of the work preserved in the archives in Babylon, and not from the copy sent to the Spanish congregation. This chapter occurs too in Vitry, § 10, and Rashi, § 12. "he who maketh peace": cf. the "full Kaddish", below, p. 132. **which are in one verse:** Mal. 1:11. "Magnify" etc.: Ps. 34:3.

In Mal. 1:11 the name of JHWH is mentioned four (five) times.—R. Nachshon's prescription implies that the congregation says the Kaddish when standing.

Pool thinks that R. Nachshon originated the custom of bowing at different places in the Kaddish (Pool, 109). This does not seem very probable, since a gaon hardly invented wholly new liturgical usages. But it is likely that R. Nachshon was the first authority giving prescriptions regarding bows at the Kaddish.

XIX. But before the academy they do not say *w^ejitqallas* [be lauded], not because it is a disgrace, but we heard it from our teachers who used to say: A person is in duty bound to mention seven words here corresponding to the seven heavens in the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He. And if one does not say *w^ejitqallas*, since he has said *w^ejitbarak* [be blessed] and those six words, behold [then] here are seven words. And if one says *w^ejitqallas*, he says it when they interrupt by the "Amen" which belongs to *w^ejitbarak*. It must be seven [words], and not the one nor the other make a mistake.

XX. And the *sheliach sibbur* begins and says:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, king of the universe, who formest light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst all things: Who in

XIX. But before the academy etc.: refers to the meaning of the word *w^ejitqallas*. In biblical Hebrew it means to decry, deride, but in rabbinical Hebrew (as the corresponding Aramaic word) it means to praise, cf. Jastrow, s. v. As Pool (p. 59) points out the Hebrew word in later times must have changed its meaning, its biblical meaning being brought to the front again "and in scrupulous avoidance of all ambiguity *w^ejitqallas* was not allowed to stand but was replaced by *w^ejitħallal*". Saadja has *w^ejitqallas*, cf. Sa. 35. not because it is a disgrace: Amr. does not think the word is ambiguous. He would like to abolish it for another reason: in the academy there is a tradition that only seven words of praise should be used here. But *Ha-Manhig* tells that it is rejected because of its double meaning, cf. Pool, 59. *Tur*, § 56, quotes Amr. here (but not verbatim) and says that at that time it was not the custom to say *w^ejitqallas* but to say *w^ejitħallal* instead. (The occurrence of the *w^ejtqallas* in all the three MSS. of Amr. is another indication that Amr. originally contained prayer texts. If the copyists only copied the prayers according to their local custom, they would not have written *w^ejtqallas* since this word does not occur in the later siddurim and is rejected by liturgical authorities of the Middle ages, cf. Pool, 59 f.) corresponding to the seven heavens: as the regards the notion of seven heavens, cf. Moore, II, 68; Odeberg: 3 Enoch, the commentary on ch. xvii:3.

XX. Blessed be thou etc., the first benediction before the recital of the *Shema*, cf. Elb. 17 seqq., Zunz, GV, 382; RaMBaM, HS, I, 6; SA § 59. It is an eulogy of God as the Creator of the universe. who formest light etc., cf. Is. 45:7, where the text however runs: "I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil." But in this prayer the word "evil" is substituted by "all things", this "in order to use a more appropriate expression", Ber. 11 a. It does not coincide with the Jewish conception of God to call him the Creator of evil. "In Jewish theology there has been a general tendency to avoid ascribing evil directly to the divine creative activity. 'From above proceeds

mercy givest light to the earth and to them that dwell thereon and in his goodness renewest the creation every day continually. How manifold are thy works, JHWH. In wisdom hast thou made them all, the earth is full of thy possessions. King who alone wast exalted from aforetime, praised, glorified and exalted from days of old. Everlasting God, in thine abundant mercies have mercy upon us, Lord of our strength, Rock of our stronghold, Shield of our salvation, thou stronghold of ours. The blessed God, great in knowledge, prepared and formed the rays of the sun: it was a boon he produced as a glory to his name. He set the luminaries round about his strength. The chiefs of his hosts are holy beings, they exalt the Almighty, continually declare the glory of God and his holiness. Be thou blessed, JHWH, our God, in the heavens above and on the earth beneath. Be thou blessed, our Rock, our King and our Redeemer, Creator of holy beings, praised be thy name for ever, our King, Creator of ministering spirits, and all of his ministering spirits stand in the height of the universe, and with awe proclaim aloud in unison the words of the living God and everlasting King. All of them are beloved, all of them are pure, all of them are mighty, all of them in dread do the will of their master, all of them open their mouths in holiness and purity and praise and glorify and sanctify the name of the great King, the mighty and dreaded One, holy is He. They all take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven,

only good', though man may convert it into evil. Nothing coming from God is in itself evil, even death and the lower passions may be agencies for good (Gen. Rabba ix)", Abr. xlivi. The rabbis ascribe the evil to man (cf. Kohler: Jewish theology, 178). Abr. refers to RaMBaM: More nebukim, III, 10, where evil is declared to be no reality at all, and therefore not susceptible of creation. **How manifold etc.**, Ps. 104:24. **The blessed God** etc. The passage beginning by this phrase has, in the Hebrew text, an alphabetical arrangement (cf. Elb. 18). As appears from the critical notes in the Hebrew text of Amr. the MSS. do not agree here in every detail but the initial letters are identical. The end of this passage forms the introduction to the *Qedusha*. **The chiefs of his hosts**, the chiefs here would be the archangels, especially Michael and Gabriel (Abr. xliv). **continually declare the glory of God**, "so do the angels evening and morning always" (Abudr. 23 A). **our Rock** etc. cf. Is. 44:8. **Creator of holy beings**, i. e. the angels. In the OT angels often are called "holy ones", cf. e. g. Deut. 33:2; Zech. 14:5. **Creator of ministering spirits**: according to Hag. 14 a the song-uttering angels are created from the *Nehar di-Nur* daily. with awe proclaim etc. In 3 Enoch it is also stressed that the angels say the Trishagion with "awe", in "dread" and in "fear" etc. (3 Enoch, xxxv, 6).

They all take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. they "put themselves as a harmonious unity in the heavenly kingdom" (Odeberg: 3 Enoch, commentary on ch. xxxv, 6). The chanting of the *Qedusha* according to the prescription for it "brings about the unity and harmony which in itself actualizes the existence of song-

one from the other, and give leave one to another to hallow their Creator: in tranquil joy of spirit, with pure speech and with holy melody they all respond in unison in fear, and say with awe: HOLY, HOLY, HOLY IS JHWH OF HOSTS: THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY. And the Ophanim and the holy Chayoth with a noise of great rushing, upraising them-

uttering companies, ch. 35: 5,6. The *Qedusha* is the means of the realization of God's sovereignty among the angelic hosts, their conforming to the law of the Kingdom; hence the singing of the *Qedusha* by the angels is termed 'taking upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven', ch. 35:6" (Odeberg: 3 Enoch, Introd., 186). And the Israelite takes upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven when he recites the *Shema*, Ber. II, 2, and when praying the *Tefilla*, Ber. 10 b. (The verb used in Ber. 10 b is *hitpallel*, exclusively used for the Eighteen Benedictions, cf. Elb. 5).

Holy, holy etc., Is. 6:3. After this song Ez. 3:12 follows as a response performed by the Ophanim and the Chayoth. These angels occur in the vision of Ezekiel, Ez. 1. In 3 Enoch "the time of performing the *Qedusha* is——the central event of the heavenly 'day'" (Odeberg: 3 Enoch, Introd., 186). "The significance of the celestial *Qedusha* is indicated by the stress laid on its performance at the right time and in the right order, in perfect unity and consonance, and its explicit and implicit connection with the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is the symbol of, and, at the same time, the actual realization of the Kingdom of Heaven" (Odeberg, ibid.). In the prayer here before us, the significance of the *Qedusha* is also emphasized by two of these traits: the perfect unity and consonance in the angels' performance of it, and its connection with the idea of the kingdom of heaven.

NT scholars have often pointed out the parallelism between the notion in the Jewish apocalyptic literature of angels singing the *Qedusha* and Rev. 4:8 (cf. e. g. Charles: The Revelation of St. John, I, 125 ff.; The Expositor's Greek New Testament, V, 380. The last-mentioned work refers also to the *Qedusha* of the *Tefilla*).

There are three *Qedusha* forms in the Jewish liturgy; 1. The *Qedusha* of *Joser or*. 2. The *Qedusha* of the *Tefilla*, cf. below, ch. LVI. 3. The *Qedusha de sidra*, cf. below, ch. LXV. As to the respective ages of these three *Qedusha* forms, "no unanimous judgement has been reached" (Werner: The doxology in Synagogue and Church [HUCA, XIX, 1945], 923). Kohler and Ginzberg think that the *Qedusha* of *Joser or* is the oldest one. According to Kohler it was introduced under the influence of the Essenes, and according to him the *Qedusha* of the *Tefilla* was composed shortly after, or almost at the same time. But Ginzberg thinks that the Tannaim knew only the *Qedusha* of *Joser or*. Elbogen considers the *Qedusha de sidra* as the oldest one and tries to refute the opinions of Kohler and Ginzberg (cf. Werner, ibid., 293 f.; Elb. 61 ff.; 520 ff.). As there seems to be no conclusive evidence for either of these opinions the question regarding the respective ages of the *Qedusha* forms must be left open.

But there are at least two reasons for thinking that the *Qedusha* held a central place in the service of the synagogue from old times. The first reason is stated by Werner as follows: "If the *Kedushah* had been introduced into the liturgy after the time of the first Tannaim, it wold have created considerable discussion in the Gemara, but of this

selves towards them praise and say: BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF JHWH FROM HIS PLACE. To the blessed God they offer pleasant melodies, to the King, the living and ever-enduring God they utter hymns and make their praises heard, for he alone performeth mighty deeds and maketh new things, the Lord of battles, he soweth righteousness, causeth salvation to spring forth, createth remedies, is revered in praises, the Lord of wonders who in his goodness reneweth the creation every day continually, as it is said: [Give thanks] to him that maketh great lights for his grace endureth for ever. Blessed be thou, JHWH, Creator of the luminaries.

there is hardly a trace" (Werner, *ibid.*, 298 f). The second reason is the place which the *Qedusha* holds in the Enoch literature. The *3 Enoch* which was discovered by Hugo Odeberg is especially important. This book seems to throw light upon a significant point in the early history of the synagogue service: it hints probably at a time when the *Qedusha* held the place in the service which in later times was taken by the *Shema*. In *3 Enoch* it is "presented in its most simple and primitive form, a form which in fact seems to have been established already at the time of En. 39: 12, 13, i.e. before the Christian era" (Odeberg: *3 Enoch*, Introd., 38). It "had not yet received any of the amplifications attested in the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud" (Odeberg, *ibid.*). As pointed out above (p. 48) in *3 Enoch* the *Qedusha* is the central event of the heavenly "day". The *3 Enoch* says nothing about the service which men perform on the earth but, as Odeberg states (*ibid.*, 184): "The whole conception of celestial songs is of course framed by analogy to the songs on earth".

The blessed God etc. This concluding part of the prayer praises God as the Creator, thus connecting the beginning of the prayer with its conclusion. **for his grace endureth for ever:** The Ashkenazic siddurim add here: "Cause a new light to shine upon Zion, and may we all be worthy soon to enjoy its brightness" (Singer, 39. But this clause does not occur in the Sephardic liturgy, cf. Gaster, I, 19).—MSS. **מ** and **ו** add to the prayer "who formest light" an utterance of R. Saadja Gaon where such a clause is rejected, since it is a prayer for the coming of the Messianic time. But "the rabbis did not ordain this *beraka*, referring to the future light in the times of the Messiah, but to the light of the day". This utterance of R. Saadja does not occur in his Siddur (but the editors have quoted it from Amr. in a footnote, Sa. 37).

MS. **מ** also adds an ordinance of R. Saadja concerning the individual's recital of the *Qedusha*: he should recite the *beraka* "who formest light" without saying the *Qedusha* since it is only permissible to say it if ten men are present (cf. SA § 59:3).

M:

With abounding love hast thou loved us, JHWH, our God, with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us, our Father, our King, for the sake of thy great name and for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee, and whom thou didst teach the statutes of life, be gracious also unto us. Our Father, merciful Father, have mercy upon us and put it into our hearts to understand, to hear, to learn and to teach, to heed and to do all the words of instruction in thy Torah in love. Enlighten our eyes in thy commandments and let thy

G:

With abounding love hast thou loved us, JHWH, our God, with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us, our Father, our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee, and whom thou didst teach the statutes of life, be also gracious unto us. Our Father, merciful Father, have mercy upon us, and put it into our hearts to understand and to discern, to hear, to learn and to teach, to heed and to do and to fulfil in love all the words of instruction in thy Torah in our mouth. And enlighten our eyes in thy commandments, and let our

S:

With abounding love hast thou loved us, JHWH, our God, with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us, our Father, our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee, and whom thou didst teach the statutes of life, be gracious also unto us. Our Father, merciful Father, have mercy upon us, and put it into our hearts to understand, and to discern, and to hear, and to learn, and to do all the words of instruction in thy Torah in love. And enlighten our eyes in thy commandments, and let our hearts cleave to thy fear, and

With abounding love etc., the second benediction before the recital of the *Shema*, cf. Elb. 20 seqq. It does not begin with "Blessed" because it is connected with the preceding one, cf. Baer, 80. A briefer form of this prayer is used in the evening service where it begins with the word "With everlasting love", cf. below, ch. XCI. This reading coincides with Jer. 31:3. Both readings are cited in the Talmud, Ber. 11 b. In this prayer Israel praises God that he has given his people the Torah, and prays for his help in the study of the Torah. Abr. remarks well: "The two benedictions (for *Light* and *Law*) appropriately lead up to the *Shema*. Just as in Ps. xix the poet first lauds the Creator of the Sun and then enlarges on the glory of the Law—first speaking of the might of God as manifested in his dominion over physical nature, then of his love revealed in spiritual communion with the heart of man — so we have in the two benedictions preceding the *Shema* first (*yoser*) a thanksgiving for natural light, then (*Ahaba*) a thanksgiving for spiritual illumination. In this second prayer there is a characteristic union of the practical and the ideal. Israel entreats the merciful Father, out of his very love for the fathers and the children, to bestow a practical knowledge of his precepts, and a power to perform them" (Abr. xl ix).

with great and exceeding pity etc., cf. Mal. 3:17. for the sake of thy great name, cf. Ez. 20:9, 22. and for the sake of our fathers, cf. Jer. 2:2. and whom thou didst

M:

Torah cleave unto our hearts, and unite our hearts to fear thy name, so that we be not put to shame nor be abashed for ever, because we have trusted in thy holy, great and fearful name, may we rejoice and be glad in thy salvation, and let not thy mercy and thy grace abandon us for ever. And let peace from the four corners of the whole earth come over us and cause us to go upright to our land, for thou art a God who worketh salvation. Thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues and hast brought us near unto thy great name in faithfulness. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love.

O:

hearts cleave to thy fear, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy name because we have been called by thy holy, truly great name. Do unto us for the sake of thy glorious name, O God, great, mighty, and fearful, exalt our horn soon in love, and be thou our king and save us for the sake of thy name, for we have trusted in thee, so that we be not put to shame, and we trust in thy name that we may not be abashed and not stumble for ever and ever, because thou, O God, art our Father, and may thy mercy and grace, O God, not abandon us for ever. Let come over us blessing and peace from the four corners of the earth and cause us soon to go upright to our land, for thou art a God who worketh salvation. Thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues and hast brought us near unto thy great name in faithfulness that we might in love give thanks unto thee and proclaim thy unity. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love.

S:

unite our hearts to love thy name because we have been called by thy holy, truly great name. Do unto us for the sake of thy great and fearful name, soon in love exalt our horn and be thou our king and save us for the sake of thy name, for we have trusted in thee, that we be not put to shame, and we trust in thy name that we be not abashed nor stumble for ever and ever because thou, O God, art our Father, our God, and let not thy mercy abandon us for ever and ever. Let peace come over us from the four corners of the earth and cause us soon to go upright to our land, for thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues and hast brought us near unto thy great name in love. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love.

XXI. These are the two *berakot* before it. And they recite the *Shema* with concentration, and with intense listening, and with accuracy in the pro-

teach etc., i.e. thou gavest them the Torah in which there are statutes and commandments (Abudr. 24 A). be gracious also etc., i.e. thou wast gracious unto them and didst teach them the statutes of life, be gracious unto us also (Abudr. 24 A). to heed and to do, cf. Jos. 1:8. and unite our hearts etc., cf. Ps. 86:11. be not put to shame, cf. Ps. 25:2. we may rejoice etc., cf. Is. 25:9. that we might in love etc. This refers to the *Shema* for in it is the unity of the Holy One, blessed be He, and in it it is written: *And thou shalt love JHWH, thy God* (Abudr. 24 A).

XXI. These are the two etc., Ber. I, 4. And they recite the *Shema* etc. The Bible texts which are to be recited here are given only in MS. 31 and were certainly not originally contained in Amr. It was unnecessary to give them, since everybody knew them. They occur in the Mishna, Ber. II, 2; Deut. 6:4—9; 11:13—21; Num. 15: 37—41. The recitation of the first of these texts was part of the regular daily ritual of the Temple, cf. Tamid V, 1, and was taken over by the synagogue. There is reason to think that the second and third passages have been added successively. "Die Vereinigung der Bibelabschnitte und Gebetstücke in *Keriat Shema* ist erst allmählich zustande gekommen. Soweit unsere Quellen zurückreichen, nennen sie freilich die drei Bibelabschnitte zusammen, dennoch ist es wahrscheinlich, dass sie einer nach dem anderen in die Liturgie Aufnahme fanden. An dieser Stelle sollte das *Bekenntnis* gesprochen werden; dazu eignete sich das erste Stück, welches das Bekenntnis der Gemeinde zum einzigen Gottes zum Ausdruck bringt und die ungeteilte Liebe zu Gott als die für jede Zeit und jede Lage geltende Forderung ausspricht. Es ist erst in der LXX mit einer feierlichen Einleitung versehen, der Papyrus Nash zeigt es als einziges unserer Stücke zusammen mit dem ursprünglich ebenfalls beim Gottesdienste verwendeten Dekalog" (Elb. 24).

The introduction to Deut. 6:4 seqq. in LXX runs thus: "And these are the ordinances, and the judgements, which the Lord commanded the children of Israel in the wilderness when they had gone forth from the land of Egypt." These words also occur in the Papyrus Nash (dating from the first or second century A.D., cf. Deissmann: *Licht vom Osten*, 30, footnote 3). In the papyrus this passage is preceded by the Ten Commandments and followed by Deut. 6:4 (cf. HDB, V, 353). The introduction to Deut. 6:4 stresses the importance of this passage, and the Papyrus Nash shows that there was a connection between this passage and the Ten Commandments. It is also evident that the 'Ten Commandments' in earlier times belonged to the synagogue service but were removed for polemical reasons, Elb. 242. People wanted to recite the Ten Commandments but were stopped 'on account of the insinuations of the *minim*' (Ber. 12 a). Ri. (a.1) explains: 'in order that they should not say to the people that the other part of the Torah is not true.' Buxtorf quotes this explanation of Ri. and adds: "Credo, intelligi his Christianos, qui reliquos Leges Mosaicas, Ceremoniales & ex parte Forensis, sublatas dixerunt" (Buxtorf: *Synagoga judaica*, 202). This explanation is of course correct.

nunciation of the letters, and everybody recites it according to his own way. For it is said in the Mishna: The school of Shammai says: In the evening every man should recline and recite, and in the morning he should stand, as it is said: *And when thou liest down and thou risest up*. But the school of Hillel says: Every man should recite in his own way. And what does "according to everyone's own way" mean? The rabbis taught this: The school of

The Decalogue, then, belonged to the synagogue service in the times of Christ, and so did Deut. 6:4 seqq. But it does not seem possible to determine whether the other two Biblical texts also belonged to the service in the time of Christ. It is possible that Josephus refers to them (*Ant.* IV, 8, 13, cf. Kohler: The origins of the synagogue and the church, 54).

Billerbeck (IV, 189) stresses that the *Shema* is a "confession", not a "prayer". He also maintains that the Jews never speak of "praying the *Shema*": "Wie der Inhalt der drei Schriftstellen zeigt, will das *Shema* nicht ein Gebet sondern ein Bekenntnis sein. Als solches ist es auch zu allen Zeiten angesehen worden... Allein die Stellung, die das *Shema* seit alters in den synagogalen Gebetsliturgie eingenommen hat, und ferner seine Umrahmung mit bestimmten Gebeten haben es vielfach auch als Gebet erscheinen lassen. Das Bewusstsein um den ursprünglichen Bekenntnischarakter des *Shema* hat sich jedoch im Sprachgebrauch insofern lebendig erhalten als man nie vom Beten, sondern immer vom Lesen oder Rezitieren des *Schema*, *geriat Schema*, geredet hat." These statements may be open to some criticism. Firstly: there is no general term for "prayer", "praying" in the old sources. The words "pray" (*hitpallel*) and "prayer" (*Tefilla*) are reserved for the Eighteen Benedictions, cf. Elb. 5. Secondly: Elb. points out that in post-Talmudic times *Tefilla* might denote "every petition, every intercession", Elb. 6. But it should be added that in these times, i. e. in the Middle ages, we also find the expression "to pray the *Shema*" (*hitpallel geriat Shema*), cf. e. g. *Col Bo*, p. 3 b. Thirdly: the reciting of the *Shema* and the saying of the *Tefilla* are spoken of as "taking upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven" (cf. above, p. 48). They are, thus, placed in the same category.

with concentration, Ber. 13 b. "One who recites the *Shema* and does not concentrate his mind while reciting the first verse, i. e. 'Hear, Israel, JHWH, our God, JHWH, is one', has not fulfilled his duty" (RaMBaM, HS, II, 1). But even if he does not concentrate his mind when reciting the remaining verses, he has nevertheless fulfilled his duty (RaMBaM, ibid.). with accuracy in the pronunciation, cf. below, ch. XXII, XXIII. recite in his own way, i. e. there is no prescription regarding the posture to be taken when reciting the *Shema*. The school of Shammai and the school of Hillel differ concerning this matter. The school of Shammai teaches that Deut. 6:7 should be interpreted literally: when reciting the *Shema* in the evening one should lie down and when reciting it in the morning one should stand. As Amr. points out the opinion of the school of Shammai is already rejected in the Mishna. There must, therefore, have been some special reason why Amr. thought it necessary to demonstrate at such length that the Halacha is according to the school of Hillel.

Hillel says that one may recite the *Shema* standing, one may recite reclining, one may recite sitting, one may recite at one's work. And I have established: In the second section they work at their work and read: *And it shall come to pass if ye shall hear diligently*, but in the first section they cease from their work and recite. And [this is inferred] from that which is taught in the Mishna: The school of Hillel says: 'They recite according to their own way', without any further qualification, and it is explained in a Baraita: They stand, recline, sit, [or] are busy. They do not stand exclusively or recline exclusively or sit exclusively or work exclusively, but as it happens, if a man is walking on the way, his manner is to recite while standing but not walking, because we know as far as *upon thy heart* [is to be recited] when standing. If is lying down on something, e. g. a man who is forced, and is not lying on his back, but leaning on his right side or on his left side, he is permitted to recite the *Shema*. But he is forbidden to lie on his back when praying. It is well-known that it is the custom of all men in the synagogue that they gather and sit, and recite the "Passages of Song" when sitting. And they begin with the benedictions "who formest the light" and conclude with "who formest the lights" and with "who hast chosen thy

As Zimels points out (Zimels: Zur äusseren Haltung im Gottesdienst [in Nathan Stein-Schrift, Karsruhe 1938], p. 152) the expression *qore kedarko* is not quite clear. "Analog dem sonstigen Gebrauch des Wortes *kedarko* in ähnlichen Verbindungen . . . würde er hier besagen: ein jeder lese, wie er [sonst zu lesen] gewohnt ist, oder auch — etwas modifiziert: — wie es ihm beliebt. . . . Darnach dürfte man auch absichtlich aufstehen. Maimon jedoch und nach ihm *Tosafot jom tob* erklären: *kefi shejizdamen*, wie es s. gerade trifft. Man dürfe s. weder absichtlich niederlegen noch aufstehen." From Ber. 11 a appears that "das Schema könne in jeder Lage gesprochen werden, in der man sich gerade befindet, nicht aber, die man erst dafür schafft" (Zimels, ibid.).

For it is said in the Mishna, Ber. I, 3. And when thou liest down etc., Deut. 6:7. In the second section, i. e. when reciting Deut. 11:13 seqq. But in the first section etc.: i. e. when reciting Deut. 6:4 seqq. work is forbidden, because this section must be said with concentration, Ber. 13 b, 16 a. "A person, engaged in work [at the time of reciting the *Shema*], pauses till he has read the whole first section. So also artizans intermit their tasks while reciting the first section, so that their reciting of the *Shema* shall not be perfunctory. And the rest of the *Shema*, everyone recites, continuing his task meanwhile." (RaMBaM, HS, II:4).

They do not stand exclusively etc.: a man should recite the *Shema* in his ordinary posture, with the exception of the first section. In this section it is not permissible to work or to travel, Ber. 16 a; 13 b. until "upon thy heart": Deut. 6:6. The verses

people Israel" when sitting and may therefore also recite the *Shema* when sitting. And those who apparently incline to the stricter opinion and say that one should take upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven when standing make a mistake, it is ignorance and unmannerliness and folly.

Why are they mistaken in this whole thing? It is already evident that the opinion of the school of Hillel is according to the Torah, and in how many places do we read that [the opinion of] the school of Shammai is not law but [the opinion of] the school of Hillel is! And in all differences of opinion where the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel are at variance no Tannaim decide the Halacha according to the school of Shammai, with the exception of six cases. One [of them] is in the section "These are the points [of difference] between the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel": The school of Shammai says that [after the meal] the floor is swept before the washing of the hands, while the school of Hillel says that

4—6 should be read with concentration (Ber. 13 b) and because of that the traveller must stand when reciting them. "A traveller, journeying on foot, stands while reciting the first verse", RaMBaM, HS, II:3. If he is lying down etc.: Ber. 13 b. "It is forbidden to recite the *Shema* lying prone with face to ground, or lying on the back with face looking up, but one may recite it while lying on one's side. An extremely corpulent person who is unable to turn on his side, or one who is sick, should slightly turn on his side and then recite the *Shema*", RaMBaM, HS, II: 2. take upon himself the yoke of the kingdom: to recite the first section (Deut. 6:4—9) is called "to take upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven", Ber. II, 2, and to recite the second section (Deut. 11:13—21) is called "to take upon himself the yoke of the commandments", Ber. II, 2.

And in all the differences of opinion etc.: It is well known that in the first century A.D. there were many conflicts of opinion between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai as regards details of the Jewish law. "As far as is known, there were only three such controversies between Shammai and Hillel themselves (*Sab.* 15 a), and the accepted decision in each case agrees with the view of neither sage. The difference between their two schools, however, which lasted over a period of 110 years, were so numerous that a saying arose: The one Law has become two laws (*Tos. Hag.* 2:9; *Sanh.* 88 b). The Shammaites, with but few exceptions, adhered more strictly to the letter of the law than did the Hillelites; the latter tended to alleviate the burdens of the Law and interpreted it accordingly, while the former displayed a tendency toward rigorousness. The Mishna contains examples of arguments between the two schools, as well as cases where one or the other retracted its view (for example, *Eduy.* 1:12—14; some forty cases in which the school of Hillel held the more rigorous

[the diners] wash their hands and then the floor is swept. And we read [in the Talmud] about it: R. Isaac, son of R. Chanina, said in the name of R. Huna: In all these chapters the Halacha is as stated by the school of Hillel, save in this point where it is stated by the school of Shammai. The second point too is at the end of this section: If anyone has eaten and forgotten to say grace: The school of Shammai says that he must return to the place [where he ate] and say grace, while the school of Hillel says that he should say it in the place where he remembered. And the Halacha is according to the school of Shammai which can be concluded from two disciples and from Rabba, son of Chana, better than from the two [disciples]. Things that ought to be followed by a *beraka* after them in its place is bread. Thirdly: The booth [should] hold his head and the larger part of his body and his table, for we read: R. Samuel, the son of R. Isaac said, in the name of R. Huna: The Halacha is that it must hold his head, and the greater part [of his body] and his table. R. Abba said to him: As the school of Shammai, then? Some say: R. Abba said to him: Who said it to you? The school of Shammai, and you should not remove from it. Although there is an objection made by R. Nachman we conclude that they are divided in two [things]: in the [question] about the large booth and the small booth which does not hold as much as is required for his head, and the larger [part of his body], and his table which the school of Shammai declares unfit but the school of Hillel declares fit. And the Halacha is according to the school of Shammai. And the two [different opinions] regarding the purpleblue thread: how many white threads

view were collected in *Eduy. 4 and 5*" (L. A. Rosenthal, UJE, II, 251). The Shammaites took a very active part in the great revolt against Rome. "They perished with the downfall of the nation, while the peace-loving Hillelites escaped. When Jochanan ben Zakkai and Gamaliel II reconstituted the Sanhedrin after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Hillelites were definitely in the majority, and from that time on the opinions of Shammai were definitely disregarded (*Ber. 36 b* and parallels). Tradition embellished this victory into a legend: For three years the two schools contended for supremacy, until a divine voice (Bath Kol) intervened, proclaiming: 'Both are the words of the living God, but the opinions of the school of Hillel are to prevail.' The reason given is that they were modest, ready to yield when convinced, and respectful in attitude toward the more brilliant school of Shammai (*Erub. 13 a*)" (Rosenthal, *ibid.*).—Amr. mentions here the differences of opinion between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai given in *Ber. VIII, 3, 4, 7 etc.* And we read, *Ber. 52 b*. The second point etc.: *Ber. VIII, 7. And the Halacha etc.*: cf. *Ber. 53 b*. Thirdly: *Succah 3 a. regarding the purpleblue thread*: the purpleblue thread used for the show-fringes, cf. *Men. 41 b.*

should be tied in? The school of Shammai says, four, and the school of Hillel says, three. And how much may hang down? The school of Shammai says, four [breadths of a finger]. But the school of Hillel says, three. And the Halacha is according to the school of Shammai in both these cases. And, further: A linen cloak with fringes: the school of Shammai declares it is free but the school of Hillel declares it obligatory. And although it is taught: The Halacha is according to the school of Hillel, according to a rabbinic enactment regarding clothing for night they returned it according to the school of Shammai. Behold, there are six [rules] according the [opinion of] the school of Shammai. But as R. Oshaia reverses the teaching: The school of Shammai says: They wash their hands and [then] they sweep the floor, and the school of Hillel says: They sweep the floor and [then] they wash [their hands], we have reduced them. And, furthermore, in four matters in the Mishna-tractate Eduyoth the school of Hillel returned to teach according to the words of the school of Shammai. But in all tannaitic authorities the Halacha is stated according to the school of Hillel. And behold, [for some persons] it is not sufficient to transgress [against the words] of the school of Hillel but they do not even act according to [the words of] the school of Shammai, for if one stands in the morning according to the school of Shammai one must recline in the evening, but these [say]: there is no difference whether one stands in the morning or in the evening. Can you imagine a greater folly than that? Who instituted the reciting of the *Shema* in the evening and in the morning? The rabbis, that we may follow them in the order that they are used in both academies and in the whole of Spain and in all the congregations in Germany, may all of them be remembered for a thousand benevolences and blessings because all of them are as full of Torah and commandments as a pomegranate, and their works are becoming, and they follow the stricter opinion regarding the examination of forbidden food, and regarding the ritual bath after menstruation, and in all that is worthy to be done according to the stricter opinion, but at the reciting of the *Shema* they sit.

A linen cloak etc.: the school of Shammai declares it free, i. e. it should have no show-fringes but the school of Hillel declares that it should. **And although it is taught:** Men. 40 a. But in the same passage, Men. 40 a, this Baraitha is declared void. **But as R. Oshaiah etc.:** Ber. 52 b. R. Oshaiah "reversed the teaching", i. e. he exchanged the names in this teaching. Instead of the name of Hillel in the beginning he put the name of Shammai, and instead of Shammai in the end he put the name of Hillel (cf. Ri. ad. loc.). **in the Mishna-tractate Eduyoth etc.:** Ed. I, 12.

And those who say: we act according to the usage of Palestine. Behold, we read thus in the Palestinian Talmud: It is taught: A divine voice went forth and said: 'Both are the words of the living God, but the Halacha is stated according to the school of Hillel for ever.' And yet [we read] on the same subject in the Palestinian Talmud: Before a divine voice had gone forth and spoken, if anybody follows the stricter opinion of the one school and the stricter opinion of the other school, of him it is said: *The fool walks in darkness.* [And if anybody] follows both schools in the easier rulings he is a sinner. But he should either follow the school of Shammai both in their easier rulings and in their stricter rulings, or he should follow the school of Hillel in their easier rulings and in their stricter rulings, but from the time when a divine voice went forth the Halacha is stated as according to the school of Hillel for ever, and everybody who acts against the rule of the school of Hillel deserves death. And in the Babylonian Talmud is said about this Halacha: R. Nachman b. Isaac said: 'One who follows the rule of the school of Shammai makes his life forfeit, as we have learnt: R. Tarfon said: I was once walking on the road and I reclined to recite the *Shema* in the manner prescribed by the school of Shammai, and I incurred danger from robbers. They said to him: You deserved to come to harm, because you acted against the opinion of the school of Hillel. And these men who sit but rise when the time for reciting the *Shema* comes in the morning, act according to the opinion of the school of Shammai but against the rule of the school of Hillel, and they have [against hem] two sayings of R. Nachman b. Isaac and afterwards the divine voice. And if they will say that the school of Hillel permits [the reciting of the *Shema*] standing, their words are worthless because they have no foundation.

What is taught in the Mishna? The school of Hillel says: They read whether

And those who say: we act according to the usage of Palestine. In Palestine the worshippers used to recite the *Shema* when standing, although this custom is contrary to the prescriptions of both Talmudim (cf. Zimels, op. cit. p. 141). we read thus in the Palestinian Talmud: PT Ber. I, 7. And yet etc.: PT, ibid. The fool etc., Eccl. 2:14. And in the Babylonian Talmud: Ber. 11 a. two sayings by R. Nachman b. Isaac: one saying of R. Nachman is quoted above from Ber. 11 a. It is not clear to which other saying by R. Nachman reference is made by Amr. In PT Ber. I, 7 the divine voice is referred to, but no rabbi is mentioned in that passage. "The school of Hillel says" etc.: Ber. 11 a.

sitting or standing or reclining. They stand and read, they sit and read. And the meaning of their words is as follows: Those who stand need not to sit, those who sit need not rise, just as it is their usage. And as we read in the Talmud: He who transgresses rabbinic enactments is called a renegade, and furthermore we read in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud: R. Huna said in the name of R. Idi, in the name of R. Joseph and R. Judah in the name of R. Samuel: One must take upon himself the kingdom of heaven standing, what does that mean? If a man is sitting should he rise? Only if he is walking on the road should he stand.

XXII. And when a man recites the *Shema* he ought to distinguish between the words because it is taught in the Mishna: The men of Jericho did six things, according to R. Meir. Three of them were approved by the sages, and three were not approved by the sages. According to R. Judah the sages did not approve the six things, but of three they forewarned

And the meaning etc.: The following saying is not a quotation from Ber. 11 a but an explanation of Amr. **And as we read etc.:** Sabb. 40 a. in the **Gemara etc.:** PT Ber. II, 1. *Tur*, § 63, expressly quotes Amr.: "R. Amram wrote: 'If anyone will place himself under the restriction to stand up when he is sitting and recite it standing, he does not act properly and is called an apostate.'" (Exactly the same prescription is given in SA § 63:2, but the name of R. Amram is not mentioned there, as SA as a rule does not indicate its sources.) But this saying is not found in our MSS. of Amr.

From the words of Amr. in ch. XXI it appears that some persons—in Babylonia, and perhaps in Spain—used to stand when reciting the *Shema*. It is not possible to ascertain why they followed this custom. Since Amr. explains at such length what Halacha is as regards the position to be taken when reciting the *Shema*, it might be concluded that these persons had misunderstood some Talmudic prescriptions with reference to this matter. But Zimels is certainly right in supposing that Amram's vehement opposition to this custom is not adequately explained in this way. He may have looked upon this custom as heretical (Zimels, op. cit. p. 142 f.). It may also be noticed that *Tur*, § 63 (cf. above) quoting Amr. uses the word "apostate" (*aberiana*).

As Zimels (ibid., 142) observes, this passage in Amr. is also found in Vitry (§ 11). Zimels seems to think that this implies that the custom also existed at the time when Vitry was composed. But this is not an inevitable conclusion. Vitry might very well have taken over this passage from Amr., even if it had no relation to facts existing in its time, for Amr. is a great authority to Vitry, and Vitry reproduces a great part of the Halakic sections of Amr.

XXII. "**The men of Jericho**" etc.: Pes. IV, 8; 56 a. **They said "Hear" etc.:** They did not pause between "one" and "And thou shalt love" etc. (Ri. a.l.). '**Blessed be the name**' etc.: This verse (Ps.72:19) is to be recited after "**Hear, Israel**" etc., cf. SA, § 61:

and of three they did not forewarn. One [of these things was this]: they recited the *Shema* without the proper pauses. And one has taught: How did they recite the *Shema* without proper pauses? They said: *Hear, Israel, JHWH, our God, JHWH, is one* and did not pause. R. Judah said: They paused, but they did not say: 'Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever.' And in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud it is written explicitly that they did not pause between one word and another. R. Jose and R. Zera and R. Ila said that they did not pause between "one" and "Blessed". We hear then that under all circumstances one must pause between one word and the other and between "one" and "Blessed".

- XXIII. And one must prolong the word "one" because a Baraitha says: Symmachos b. Joseph says: Whoever prolongs the word *one*, has his days and years prolonged. R. Acha b. Jacob [said]: And on the letter Daleth. R. Ashi said: Provided that he does not slur over the Cheth. And one may not prolong it more than is sufficient, but so much as is required to declare him king in the heaven, and on the earth, and over the four quarters of the world. And it is necessary to lift up one's voice in order that one's ear may hear, because it is written *Hear, Israel* [which implies]: Let your ear hear what you utter with your mouth. And if a man recites it in any language, he

13, Elb. 22. It should be said in a low voice as it does not originate from Moses, Pes. 56 a. And in the Gemara etc.: PT Pes. IV, 9.

XXIII. a Baraitha says etc.: Ber. 13 b. And one may not prolong more etc.: "One should dwell on the [letter] *Daleth* in *Echad* in order to declare him king in heaven and on earth and over the four quarters of the world, and the [letter] *Chet* in *Echad* should not be pronounced hurriedly lest it should sound *Ee chad* (= not one), RaMBaM, HS, II, 9. that one's ear may hear etc.: Ber. 15 a. in any language etc.: Ber. 13 a. "A man may recite the *Shema* in any language that he understands. And if he recites the *Shema* in a secular language, he must take care to avoid errors in that language, and be as scrupulous in correctly enunciating the *Shema* in that language as he would be if he were reciting it in the sacred language", RaMBaM, HS, II, 10.

because it is taught: Ber. 15 b. between the joints: that is, one should not run together two words in cases when the next word starts with the letter with which the preceding word ends. (Cf. Simon, 92, note 7).

Ber. 13 a tells that Rabbi and the sages were of different opinions in this matter. Rabbi held that the *Shema* must be recited "as it is written", i. e. in Hebrew; but the sages held that it may be said in any language, because they construed the word *shama'* to mean not only "hear" but also "understand"—"in any language you understand" (cf. Enelow: Kawauna, 86).

has done his duty, because it is written *Hear, Israel, [that is]: in any language you understand.* And one must not stutter in his words because it is taught: R. Obadiah recited in the presence of Raba: *And ye shall teach them,* which is as much as to say: thy teaching must be faultless by making a pause 'between the joints'. For instance, said Raba, supplementing his words, "with all thy heart", "upon thy heart", "with all your heart", "grass in thy field", "and ye perish quickly", "upon your heart", "the corner a thread", "ye may remember and do", "you from your land".

XXIV—XXV. These chapters occur only in MS. Θ , and there is nothing corresponding to them in Vitry. Hence it may be concluded that they did not originally belong to Amr. Ch. XXIV refers to Ber. 14 a, ch. XXV to Ber. 16 a. Marx is right in pointing out that it is necessary to be "very careful" with regard to paragraphs which occur only in MS. Θ (Marx, 358).

XXIV. *And the rabbis taught: "If one is reciting the Shema and his teacher meets him, it is not necessary that he should return [the greeting]. In the middle [of a section] he greets out of fear, and it is not necessary that he should return [greeting]. Thus R. Meir, R. Judah says: In the middle [of a section] he gives greeting out of fear and returns it out of respect, [and in the breaks he gives greeting out of respect] and returns greetings to anyone."* The breaks are as follows: Between the first and second beraka, between the second and Shema, between Shema and "it shall come to pass" and "And said", between "And said" and "True and firm". R. Judah said: One should not interrupt between "And said" and "True and firm". And in [the case of] the breaks and the middle [section] R. Meir and R. Judah are divided. "R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Jochanan: The Halacha follows R. Judah. And R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Jochanan: What is R. Judah's reason? [It is written:] God is truth."

"If one was reciting the Shema" etc.: Ber. 14 a. The breaks, i. e. the divisions between the sections. R. Judah said etc.: Ber. 14 a. R. Abbahu etc.: Ber. 14 a.

XXV. *The rabbis taught: "Workmen may recite [the Shema] at the top of a tree or on the top of a scaffolding, and they may say the Tefilla on the top of an olive tree and on the top of a fig tree, because they have a resting place on its branches. But from all other trees they must come down to the ground and say the Tefilla, and the employer must [in every case] come down and say the Tefilla, because his mind is not at ease."* And as the workmen recite [the Shema] at the top of a tree and as does not take part in their work in the first section, so much the less [should he be allowed to stay at the top of a tree] in the Tefilla.

The rabbis taught etc.: Ber. 16 a. The Talmud here makes a difference between worker and employer because the employer is not under obligation to work (Ri. a. 1.). SA § 63:8 allows workers as well as employers to recite the Shema on the top of a tree or on the top of a scaffolding. But when praying

XXVI. And one must interrupt between *this day* and the following word because we read in the Babylonian Talmud as regards the reciting of the *Shema* without proper pauses, that they recited the *Shema* in this way without proper pauses: R. Judah said: 'They said: *Hear Israel, JHWH, our God, JHWH is one*, and made no interruption.' Raba said: 'They made an interruption but they said *this day upon thy heart* in one breath which may be understood: only this day upon thy heart but not to-morrow upon thy heart.' Therefore we must say *this day* and then make a pause and then say *upon thy heart*. And in the same way [after the words] *which I command you this day* one should pause and then [read] *to love*. R. Chama b. Chanina said: If in reciting the *Shema* one pronounces the letters distinctly Ge Hinnom is cooled for him, as it is said: *When the Almighty scattereth kings therein, it snoweth in Salmon*. Read not *b^cfares* [when he scattereth] but *b^cfaresh* [when one pronounces distinctly] and read not *b^cSalmon* [in Salmon] but *b^csalmaweth* [in the Gehenna].

XXVII. And while reciting the *Shema* it is forbidden [to do it] while winking with the eyes, making a signal with the lips or pointing with the fingers, because R. Isaac b. Samuel b. Martha said in the name of Rab: While reciting one must not wink with the eyes, signal with the lips or point with the fingers. And there is a Baraitha: R. Eliezer Chisma said: "If one recites the *Shema* and winks with the eyes and signals with the lips and points with the fingers, of him it is written: *Yet thou hast not called upon me, Jacob, neither hast thou wearied thyself about me, Israel* for it is to make him like something unimportant. And there is a Baraitha: *You shall talk of them*,

the *Tefilla*, the workers should descend to the ground and recite it, but if they are on the top of an olive tree or a fig tree, they should recite it where they are, as it would entail excessive trouble to descend, RaMBaM, HT, V. 7; SA § 90:3. But SA adds that the employer must descend even from an olive tree or from a fig tree to recite the *Tefilla* because he is his own master, SA § 90:3.

XXVI. we read in the Babylonian Talmud, Pes. 56 a. and made no interruption: they made no pause between "one" and "And thou shalt love" (Ri. a.l.). *this day upon thy heart*, Deut. 6:6. *which I command you this day*, Deut. 11:13. R. Chama etc.: Ber. 15 b. as it is said: Ps. 68:15. "Snoweth" is here interpreted to mean "cooling" (of the Ge Hinnom), and this comes to pass when the words of the Almighty are scattered, i. e. are separated (cf. Goldschmidt, a. l.).

XXVII. because R. Isaac b. Martha etc.: Joma 19 b. *Yet thou hast not called etc., Is. 43:22*. And there is a Baraitha: Joma 19 b. *You shall talk of them*, Deut.

i. e. make them an essential thing, not a non-essential. And when a man recites the *Shema* he should every time when he recites it make it like a new proclamation, for it is a proclamation of the Holy One, blessed be He! who does not trouble us, since it is written: *My people, what have I done unto thee? And wherein have I wearied thee?* What do the words *And wherein have I wearied thee* mean? R. Berechja said: "A king sends his proclamation to a city. What do all the inhabitants of the city do? They rise to their feet and uncover their heads and read it with fear, with awe, with trembling and with strong emotion. But the Holy One, praised be his name and extolled his remembrance for ever! says to Israel: This reciting of the *Shema* is my proclamation. I have not wearied you to recite it standing on your feet or uncovering your heads but *when thou sittest in my house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.* And why does the Holy One, blessed be He! commend himself that

6:7. since it is written: Micha 6:3. From the reference to Is. 43:22 it might be concluded that this prescription prohibits some magical or heathen practices. That this cannot be the case, is evident from the context in Joma 19 b, where it is stated that this dictum refers only to the first section of the *Shema*. Ri. (a. l.) explains that this section must be recited with concentration of mind. Blau is certainly right in suggesting that the dictum refers to signs used in order to indicate the pronunciation of letters and to mark accents (Blau: Das altjüdische Zauberwesen, p. 149, note 3).

R. Berechja said: A king sends his proclamation etc. This passage is found too in Lev. Rabbah 27:6 but the saying is there ascribed to R. Isaac (but a preceding passage is ascribed to R. Berechja). This passage is expressly quoted from Amr. in *Tur*, § 61. It emphasizes the signal privilege accorded to the Jew, that he could recite the *Shema* in any position. There is no commandment that he should stand etc. Ziegler thinks that the following parable dates from the time when Diocletian and later Constantine had increased the lustre of the monarchy (cf. Ziegler: Die Königsgleichnisse im Midrasch, beleuchtet durch die römische Kaiserzeit, 128).

or uncovering your heads etc. Billerbeck (III, 425) infers from this text that it was a widespread and settled custom to recite the *Shema* with the head covered. Abrahams (Jewish life in the Middle Ages, 301) interprets the passage in the same way as Billerbeck: "Thus the covering of the head in prayer was at once a privilege and a mark that the respect the Jew had to his God was the reverence of a free man."

But Krauss is right when he points out that this interpretation cannot be correct (Krauss: The Jewish rite of covering the head, HUCA, XIX, 140): "All that the passage implies is the absence of compulsion. One may recite the *Shema* just as one happens to be attired at the time, with head covered or uncovered, sitting in the house, walking by the way, and the like." Any restriction would be out of accord with Micah 6:3, the passage with which the discussion opened (Krauss, ibid.).

he does not come with troubles? And if anyone does contrary, he does not do right. For in this case we have a Baraitha: "If anybody is free from an obligation but yet performs it, he is called ignorant." Therefore, [do we have] in the academy the command regarding the reciting of the *Shema* [as stated above].

XXVIII. A Tanna taught before R. Jochanan: [If one, reciting the *Shema* recollects that] he made a mistake between the sections but does not know where, he should go back to the first section. If he is in the middle of the section, he should go back to the beginning [of it]. If he is in doubt which 'writing' he is on, he should go back to the first one. R. Jochanan said to him: This rule applies only where he has not yet reached *In order that your days may be prolonged*, but if he has reached *In order that your days may be prolonged*, then [he can assume that] the force of habit kept him right.

And it is necessary to articulate the *Zayin* in *lemaan tizkeru* [that you may remember]. And it is forbidden to interrupt between "And JHWH spake" and "True and firm" but when one has said "*I am JHWH your God*" one must say "True and firm" at once, because it is written: "*But JHWH your God is true.*"

In the synagogue service and whenever praying or reading the Scriptures the Jew has his head covered (cf. Lehrmann: Jewish customs and folklore, 48 ff.). But this usage is not prescribed in the Talmud, and it is not even mentioned in Amr. This custom seems to have originated in the Middle Ages (cf. Krauss, ibid., 163 f.).

when thou sittest etc.: Deut. 6:7. we have a Baraitha: PT Ber. II, 9.

XXVIII. A Tanna taught etc.: Ber. 16 a. which writing etc.: i.e. "and thou shalt write them" in the first section or "and ye shall write" in the second section. in order that etc.: Deut.: 11:21 (the last verse of the second section). And it is necessary etc.: refers to Num. 15:40 (belonging to the third section). SA, § 61:17 points out what false senses will arise if the letter *zain* is not enunciated correctly. And it is forbidden etc.: Ber. 14 a. The conclusion of the third section and the opening words of the subsequent *beraka* are regarded as the middle of a section: one may only pause there either to salute a person of whom one stands in awe, or return the greetings of a person whom it is one's duty to honour, RaMBaM, HS, II, 17. True and firm etc. This prayer is called *Geulla* ("Redemption", cf. Ber. 9 b) because it concludes with an eulogy of God as Redeemer. It is referred to in the Mishna and the Talmud, cf. Elb. 22. According to Tamid V, 1 it was used by the priests in the morning service in the Temple. Thus it must be very old. This is indicated also by Ber. 21 a where R. Judah refers to the recital of this prayer as a Scriptural ordinance. Originally the prayer may have been shorter, cf. Zunz, GV, 383; Elbogen thinks that the latter part of it, "Thou hast been the

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True and firm and established and enduring, right, faithful, beloved and precious, desirable, pleasant and revered and mighty and well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful is this word unto us for ever and ever. It is true, the God of the universe is the rock of

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True and firm and established and enduring, right, faithful, beloved and precious, desirable, pleasant and revered and mighty and well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful is this word unto us for ever and ever. It is true, the God of the universe is our

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True and firm and established and enduring, right, faithful, beloved and precious, desirable, pleasant and revered and mighty and well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful is this word unto us for ever and ever. It is true, the God of the universe is the Rock

help" etc., has come into existence after the addition of the third Bible passage of the *Shema*, Num. 15:37—41, cf. Elb. 22. This is of course possible, but here, as is frequently the case in matters concerning the dating of the basic prayers or parts of them it is very difficult to give conclusive proofs. In PT Ber. I, 9 so many important parts of it are referred to by such early authorities, that it seems very probable that it existed at the end of the second century A.D. in essentially the same form as it has in Amr. The passage runs thus: "It is taught: He who recites the *Shema* in the morning should mention the exodus from Egypt in 'True and firm'. Rabbi says: It is necessary to mention in it the Kingdom. Others say: It is necessary to mention the dividing of the Red Sea and the slaying of the firstborn. R. Joshua b. Levi says: It is necessary to say: 'Rock of Israel and its Redeemer'." These dicta, with the exception of the last one, also occur in Tosefta (Tos. Ber. II).

In its present form the prayer conforms well to the three Scriptural passages of the *Shema*. Baer thinks that this is arranged intentionally, in correspondence with these Scriptural passages: "It is arranged corresponding to the three Scriptural passages of the *Shema*: 'It is true, the God of the universe is our King' corresponds to the first Scriptural passage which is the acceptance of the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, 'Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments' corresponds to the Scriptural passage *And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently* which is the acceptance of the yoke of the commandments, and 'From Egypt thou didst redeem us' corresponds to the Scriptural passage on the fringes, for the exodus from Egypt is mentioned there" (Baer, 84).

Kuzari also compares the content of the Scriptural passages of the *Shema* with the content of this prayer. It concludes: "If anyone completes all these [words] in entire concentration, he is a true Israelite, he has reason to hope and partake in the divine thing which cleaves to the Israelites, to the exclusion of other nations, and it will be easy for him to stand before the Divine Presence" (Kuzari, III, 17).

XXIX. True and firm. "This is a profession of faith in the declaration of the Unity and the permanent validity of the Law as made in the first paragraph in the *Shema*" (Abr. iv). is this word, i. e. the word which we have mentioned in the *Shema* is true

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Jacob, the shield of our salvation: throughout all generations he endureth and his name endureth and his throne is established, and his kingdom and his faithfulness endure, and his words live and endure; they are desirable for ever and to all eternity, for us and for our fathers and for our children and for our generations and for all generations of the seed of Israel, thy servants. For the first and for the last [thy] word endureth in truth and in trustworthiness, a statute which shall not pass away. True it is that thou art JHWH our God and the God of our fathers, our King and the King of our fathers, our Rock, the Rock of our salvation, our Deliverer and Rescuer from everlasting, such is thy name, and there is for us no other God beside thee. Thou hast been the help of our fathers from of old, a Shield and Saviour to their children after them in every generation; in

King, the Rock of Jacob, the Shield of our salvation: for ever and ever throughout all generations he endureth and his name endureth and his throne is established and his kingdom and his faithfulness endure, and his words live and endure; they are desirable and faithful for ever and to all eternity. He continues his lovingkindness unto them that know him, and his righteousness to the upright of heart. True for our fathers and for our children and for our generations and for all generations of the seed of Israel, thy servants. For the first and for the last [thy] word endureth in truth and in trustworthiness a statute which shall not pass away. True it is that thou art JHWH our God and the God of our fathers, our Rock, the Rock of our salvation, our deliverer and Rescuer from everlasting, such is thy name, and there is for us no other God beside thee. Selah. Thou hast been the help of our fathers

of Jacob, the Shield of our salvation: he endureth and his name endureth and his throne is established and his kingdom and his faithfulness endure, and his words live and endure; they are faithful and desirable for ever and to all eternity, for us, for our fathers, for our generations and for the generations of the seed of Israel, thy servants. For the first and for the last [thy] word endureth in truth and in trustworthiness, a statute which shall not pass away. True it is that thou art JHWH our God and the God of our fathers, our King and the King of our fathers, our Deliverer and the Deliverer of our fathers, our Rock, the Rock of our salvation, our Deliverer and Rescuer from everlasting, such is thy name, and there is for us no other God beside thee. Thou hast been the help of our fathers from of old, a Shield and Saviour to them and to their children after them in every generation; in the height

and firm (Abudr. 27 B). For the first, for the first generations (Baer, 84), i.e. for the fathers. Thou hast been the help of our fathers, cf. Deut. 33:29. Happy is the man etc., cf. Prov. 8:34. "The very terms of this beautiful sentence (worthy of the

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the height of the universe is thy habitation, and thy judgment and thy righteousness [reach] to the furthest ends of the earth. Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments, and layeth up thy Torah and thy word in his heart. True it is that thou art the Lord of thy people and a mighty King to plead their cause. True it is that thou art the first and thou art the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer, Helper and Saviour. In Egypt thou didst reveal thyself, all their firstborn thou didst slay, and thy firstborn thou redeemedst, and thou didst divide the Red Sea, the wicked thou didst drown, and the beloved went over while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of them was left. Wherefore the beloved praised God and the beloved offered hymns, songs, praises, blessings and thanksgivings to the king, God who liveth and endureth, who is high and

from of old, a Shield and Saviour to their children after them in every generation; in the height of the universe is thy habitation, and thy judgment and thy righteousness [reach] to the furthest ends of the earth. Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments, and layeth up thy Torah and thy word in his heart. True it is that thou art the Lord of thy people and a great king to plead their cause, for fathers and for children. True it is that thou art the first and thou art the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer and Saviour. From Egypt thou didst redeem us, JHWH, our God, and from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their firstborn thou didst slay, and thou didst divide the Red Sea, and the beloved went over while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of them was left. Wherefore the beloved praised and extolled God and the

of the universe is thy habitation, and thy judgment and thy righteousness [reach] to the furthest ends of the earth. Happy is the man who hearkeneth unto thy commandments, and layeth up thy Torah and thy word in his heart. True it is that thou art the Lord of thy people and a mighty king to plead their cause, for fathers and for children. True it is that thou art the first and the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer and Saviour. True it is that thou didst redeem us from Egypt, JHWH, our God, and from the house of bondmen thou didst deliver us; all their firstborn thou didst slay, but thy firstborn thou didst redeem, and thou didst divide the Red Sea and drown the proud, and the beloved went over the Red Sea while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of them was left. Wherefore the beloved praised and extolled God, and the be-

Psalms themselves) are related to the second paragraph of the Shema: cf. *hearkeneth unto thy commandment with if ye hearken unto my commandment, and layeth up thy law and thy words in his heart with therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart*" (Abr. iv). From Egypt thou didst redeem us etc. "At the deliverance from Egypt God manifested Himself amid the wonders of the Red Sea as the living, eternal God,

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exalted, great and revered, who bringeth low the haughty to the earth, and raiseth up the lowly, bringeth low the haughty, leadeth forth the prisoners, redeemeth the meek, helpeth the poor, answereth his people in the time when they cry unto him. Praise to him, the most high God, blessed is He and to be blessed. Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy and said, all of them: *Who is like unto thee, JHWH, among the gods? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, revered in praises, doing marvels?* With a new song the redeemed people offered praise unto thy name at the sea-shore they all gave thanks in unison, and proclaimed thy sovereignty and said: *JHWH shall reign for ever and ever.* Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast redeemed Israel.

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beloved offered hymns, songs, praises, blessings and thanksgivings to the King, God who liveth and endureth, who is high and exalted, great and revered, who bringeth low the haughty, raiseth up the lowly, leadeth forth the prisoners and delivereth the meek and helpeth the poor, and answereth his people in the time when they cry. Blessed be he forever. Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy and said, all of them: *Who is like unto thee, JHWH, among the gods? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, revered in praises, doing marvels?* With a new song the redeemed people offered praise unto thy name at the sea-shore, they all gave thanks in unison, and proclaimed thy sovereignty and said: *JHWH shall reign for ever and ever.*

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loved offered hymns, praises, blessings and thanksgivings to the king, God who liveth and endureth, who is high and exalted, great and revered, who bringeth the haughty to the earth, and raiseth up the lowly on high, leadeth forth the prisoners, delivereth the meek and helpeth the poor in the time when they cry unto him. Praise to the most high God, blessed is he and to be blessed. Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with joy and said, all of them: *Who is like unto thee, JHWH, among the gods etc.* With a new song the redeemed people offered praise unto thy name at the sea-shore, they all gave thanks and proclaimed thy sovereignty and said *JHWH shall reign for ever and ever.* And it is said: *Our redeemer, JHWH of hosts is his name, the Holy One of Israel.* Blessed be thou, JHWH, who redeemedst Israel.

exalted and revered, who bringeth low the haughty, and answereth the lowly who cry unto him. We echo the triumphant faith and gratitude of our fathers, when we repeat *Who is like unto Thee, O Lord?"* (Hertz, 127). *Who is like unto thee,* Ex. 15:11. *JHWH shall reign,* Ex. 15:18. MS. S adds Is. 47:4.

And one should add no word after "JHWH shall reign" because one might err and say something that the sages did not ordain here: "For the sake of the fathers save the children and let redemption come to their grandchildren. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast redeemed Israel."

And one should add no word etc. The *Ceulla* concludes with a thanksgiving for the redemption from Egypt, but these words of Amr. indicate that some people used to add to this thanksgiving a petition for future redemption. Amr. states that no addition should be made because it is not ordained by the rabbis. The same opinion is expressed in a responsum published by Ginzberg (GG, II, 91; cf. *Otzar ha-Geonim*, I, 28). The author of this responsum is not mentioned but he may belong to the early Gaonic times, GG, II, 89. He prohibits the insertion of a petition for redemption in the *Ceulla* but goes on to state the general principle that the *Ceulla* refers to the deliverance from Egypt and has nothing to do with redemption in the future (cf. GG, II, 89). Nevertheless it is found in some rituals (cf. Elb. 23).

The Tefilla.

XXX. And one should say no word after "True and firm", in order to

Ch. XXX—LX. These chapters deal with the *Tefilla*, the second principal part of the synagogue service. "In contrast with the first [principal part of the service] the second principal part consists of supplicatory prayers. Consequently it is called *Tefillā*, aram. *selotā*, greek εὐγένιος, and is supplicatory prayer pure and simple. The verbs *hitparallel*, *salli* (Pa.) have this sense; when the terms are carefully chosen, as in the Mishna and the Talmud, they always refer to this prayer, never to other prayers" (Elb. 27). Consequently the words *Tefilla*, *hitparallel* and their aram. equivalents are technical terms which stand for this special prayer. To the greek equivalent εὐχή, mentioned by Elbogen, must be added προσεύχεσθαι. As early as in the LXX the verb *hitparallel* is regularly translated by προσεύχεσθαι, and *Tefilla* is frequently translated by προσευχή. Since, as pointed out by Elb. in the above quotation, these Hebrew words and their Aramaic equivalents in the Mishna and in the Talmud refer to this prayer they are not correctly translated by such terms as "prayer", "to pray". For the sake of clarity the present writer has chosen not to translate the term *Tefilla* and to render *hitparallel* by "pray the *Tefilla*", "recite the *Tefilla*".

The Greek equivalent to *hitparallel*, προσεύχεσθαι, is important from the NT point of view, as it occurs in Luke 11:1. The disciples of Christ were not asking for a prayer in general. Since they said: οἱδεῖσαν ἡμῖν προσεύχεσθαι, the meaning of their request is: Teach us a *Tefilla*.

As regards the origin of the *Tefilla* Elbogen sums up the important Talmudic dicta as follows: "Tradition asserts the following contradictory statements as regards their [i. e. the thirteen middle paragraphs¹⁾] of the *Tefilla*] time and origin: (a) 'the men of the Great Assembly fixed the *Tefillah* for Israel' (*Ber.* 33 a), with which another Talmudic statement agrees, namely, 'one hundred and twenty elders, among them several prophets, fixed the Eighteen Benedictions in the proper order' (*Yer. Ber.* ii, 4; *Meg.* 17 b). (b) But on the contrary, it is stated that Simeon Hapakuli (i. e. the worker in flax; according to others, the name Hapakuli is derived from the name of a place) arranged the Eighteen Benedictions in order before Rabban Gamaliel II in Jabne (*Meg.* 17 b). This represents a discrepancy of several centuries, and the solution usually given in the Talmud in the case of such contradictions, 'It was enacted, but then was forgotten and was reenacted', contravenes all historical experience and presents a derogatory

¹⁾ In Elb. 28 the following statements refer to the *Tefilla* as a whole. But the quotations from the Talmud given in Elb. 28 are identical with those given in UJE, IV, 23 f., and all of them refer to the *Tefilla* as a whole. UJE is, then, incorrect when referring them to the thirteen middle *berakot* only.

combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla*, and it is forbidden to talk before one

testimony as to Jewish religious life" (Elbogen, UJE, IV, 23 f.; cf. Elb. 28 f.). But one might remark that there need not necessarily be a contradiction between Ber. 33 a and Meg. 17 b. The most natural explanation of the statement of Meg. 17 b is that it refers to the "arrangement" of the Eighteen Benedictions, not to their original "institution" (cf. Kohler: The origin and composition etc., HUCA, I, 387). There is, however, no reason to dispute Elbogen's statement that "the prayer was not composed at one and the same time, and it contains various component parts dating from various periods" (UJE, IV, 24, cf. Elb. 29 ff.). Problems concerning the origin of the *Tefilla* and its history in the pre-Christian era are, however, beside the purpose of the present study. There can be no doubt that this prayer dates from the pre-Christian period (cf. Elb. 29 ff.). But it contains some additions of a later time. The Talmud expressly states that one of the benedictions was formed in the time of Rabban Gamaliel (cf. Elb. 51). And some other paragraphs contain expressions which have connection with the destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 70 (cf. e. g. Elb. 29, 31).

There is a special problem connected with the number of the benedictions contained in the *Tefilla*. According to the traditional view, based on Meg. 17 b, the number of the benedictions previous to Rabban Gamaliel was already eighteen and he added the nineteenth. "In the days of Rabban Gamaliel, the number of the *minim* in Israel increased. They were wont to vex the Israelites and seduce them to turn away from JHWH. When Rabban Gamaliel realized that the most urgent need was [to remove this evil] he and his court ordained a benediction which contains a petition to JHWH to destroy the *minim*, and incorporated it in the *Tefilla* so that it should be in a fixed form for all. Hence the number of the benedictions in the *Tefilla* is nineteen" (RaMBaM, HT, II, 1).

But Elbogen holds another view as to the number of the benedictions: according to him there were previously seventeen, and the eighteenth was the *Birkat ha-minim*. Later the fourteenth benediction was divided into two. "In Babylonia, out of respect for the exilarch who then resided there, a special petition for the speedy coming 'of the descendant of David' was introduced. The content of petition fourteen with the old conclusion 'God of David, Builder of Jerusalem' was divided so as to form part of the fourteenth and fifteenth petitions of today. Thus the Eighteen Benedictions now contain nineteen paragraphs" (Elbogen, UJE, IV, 25, cf. Elb. 39 f.). It is a fact that the PT and the Palestinian Midrashim do not know the *Birkat David*, cf. Elb. 40. The traditional explanation of this fact is the following: When the *Birkat ha-minim* was ordained, the fourteenth and fifteenth benedictions were joined in one, but the Babylonian sages later restored the fifteenth benediction to its former place (cf. Baer, 97).

The most important argument against Elbogen's theory could be derived from the Mishna (Ber. IV, 3). As Kohler puts it: "Obviously R. Joshua and R. Aqiba as well as R. Gamaliel speak of it [i.e. that the number of the benedictions was eighteen] in the *Mishna* (Ber. IV, 3) as of a long-established institution, differing only in regard

has concluded and said: "Let the words of my mouth be acceptable before

to the form of their recital in private. The same is assumed in the Babylonian *Gemara* (*Ber.* 28 b), where the number of Nineteen Benedictions is accounted for by the statement that the Benediction concerning the heretics (Minim) was introduced under R. Gamaliel at Jabne, when Samuel ha-Katan formulated the same" (Kohler: The origin and composition etc., HUCA, I, 390 f.; cf. Dalman: Worte Jesu, 287).

It should, however, be born in mind that it was not until the times of Rabban Gamaliel that it was made the duty of every individual to recite the Eighteen Benedictions, *Ber.* IV, 3 (cf. below, ch. LI). "A substitute for the Eighteen" existed too (cf. *Ber.* IV, 3) consisting of seven benedictions, cf. Baer, 108; Singer 55. These seven benedictions were probably instituted for Sabbaths and Holy Days long before the Eighteen Benedictions for the weekdays were composed (Kohler, *ibid.*, 408).

At the time of Christ, then, the Eighteen Benedictions were recited in the synagogue service on weekdays and the Seven Benedictions on Sabbaths and Holy Days. But no regulations were made for the private recital of the *Tefilla*.

The *Tefilla* has been preserved in two different versions, the Babylonian and the Palestinian. The Babylonian version occurs first in Amr., and the Palestinian one was first published by Solomon Schechter (Cf. Elb. 517 f; UJE, IV, 26). It is generally assumed that the Palestinian version is nearer to the form of the *Tefilla* of the first century A. D. This view may be correct, but some observations may be made: it must be remembered that both versions were put in writing in the post-Talmudic, i.e. Gaonic times (cf. above, *Introduction*, p. XVI). It should also be remembered that, as the wording of the *Tefilla* was not fixed originally, there may always have been differences in the wording. As Elbogen puts it: "At first the text of the Eighteen Benedictions was not fixed, and emphasis was placed only upon the recitation of the exact words of the concluding benedictions, and of the twelfth paragraph. Even after Rabban Gamaliel II's redaction of the Eighteen Benedictions, the opinion was expressed by many that the middle paragraphs could be arranged in accordance with individual inclination; many teachers of the Law opposed any attempt to fix the exact text, and required that the text of the Eighteen Benedictions be composed anew as frequently as possible. Thus citations in the Mishnah and Talmud show that as late as the period from the 2nd to the 5th centuries differences of opinion prevailed concerning the text of the Eighteen Benedictions. About the year 1350 David Abudraham of Seville wrote that there were no two Jewish communities on earth in which the text of the Eighteen Benedictions was the same word for word" (UJE, IV, 26). It cannot, then, be vindicated that the Palestinian version beyond question in every respect represents the older form of the *Tefilla*. In some cases the opposite may be the case (cf. above, concerning the *Birkat David*).—A comparison between the two versions is beyond the scope of this study.

The *Tefilla* consists of three parts. "The three first [berakot consist of] praise to JHWH, and the last three of thanksgiving. The intermediate [berakot] contain petitions for the things which may stand as categories of all the desires of the individual and the needs of the community." Thus RaMBaM (HT, I, 6) sums up the Talmudic dicta

thee." And one must rise at once to pray the *Tefilla* so that one stands up for prayer immediately after the words of Torah. For it is said in the Mishna: In the morning two benedictions are to be said before it and one after it, and in the evening two are to be said before it and two after it. And we learn about it in the Palestinian Talmud: R. Simon in the name of R. Samuel b. Nachman says with reference [to the words] *and you shall meditate therein day and night* that the recitation of the day and the night be alike.

concerning the characterization of the three principal parts of the *Tefilla*, cf. Ber. 34 a; PT Ber. II, 4.

In the notes given below on the different paragraphs of the *Tefilla* the Targum of the *Tefilla* (Targ. Am.) is sometimes quoted. This Targum was published by M. Gaster (Ein Targum der Amidah, MGWJ, NF, 3, Breslau 1895, pp. 84—90), with an introduction, ibid., pp. 79—84). Gaster points out that this Targum is "ein Unicum". "Bisher kannte man nur Targumim zu den biblischen Texten. Dass aber auch Gebete mit einem Targum versehen worden seien, ist bis jetzt von Niemandem geahnt worden" (ibid., 79). Gaster thinks that this Targum must be old. "Dass der Targum sehr alten Ursprunges sei, lässt sich kaum bezweifeln; ebensowenig, dass es im Laufe der Jahrhunderte mannißfachen Umwandlungen, Ergänzungen und Auslassungen unterworfen worden sei. Es verhält sich damit genau so wie mit dem Midrasch, dessen jüngere Form keineswegs immer den jungen Ursprung beweist" (ibid., 80). An English translation of the Targum was published by Hermann Gollancz (Translation of a Targum of the Amidah, in Semitic Studies in memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, Berlin 1897, pp. 187—197).

The Targum dates perhaps from the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D. (cf. Epstein: Das Targum zu dem Achtzehngebete, MGWJ, NF, 3, pp. 175—178). It is certainly not so old as Gaster supposed.

* XXX. **And one should say no word** etc. The *Geulla* should be followed immediately by the *Tefilla*, Ber. 4 b, 9 b. "When he has concluded [the *beraka* after the *Shema*] with the words 'who hast redeemed Israel', he should rise immediately in order to combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla*", RaMBaM, HT, VII, 17. "One should combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla* and should make no interruption between them, not even by 'Amen' after [the words] 'who hast redeemed Israel' and not by recitation of a verse [of Scripture] with the exception of 'JHWH, open my lips'", SA § 111:1. **immediately after the words of the Torah:** Amr. thus considers not only the Scripture passages of the *Shema* but also the *berakot* belonging to the *Shema* as words of the Torah.

For it is said in the Mishna, Ber. I, 4. in the Palestinian Talmud, PT Ber. I, 8. This dictum occurs also in Midr. Tehillim I, 17. Midr. Tehillim (ibid.) also interprets Ps. 1:2 to mean the recital of the *Shema* (cf. Ginzberg, PT, I, 161). **and you shall meditate therein day and night**, Jos. 1:8, cf. Ps. 1:2. **that the recitation of day and night be alike:** i. e. the number of passages recited in the morning is equal to the num-

R. Jose b. Abin in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi [says it is] with reference [to the words] *seven times a day I praise thee*. R. Nachman in the name of R. Mani says: Whosoever fulfills [the precept] to praise JHWH seven times a day is as if he had fulfilled the commandment: *and you shall meditate therein day and night*. And one must combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla*. R. Zera in the name of R. Abba b. Jeremiah says: Three things should follow immediately one on the other: the killing [of the sacrifice] should follow immediately on the laying on of hands; the benediction should follow immediately on the washing of hands; the *Tefilla* should follow immediately on the *Geulla*. The killing [of the sacrifice] should follow immediately on the laying on of hands, since it is written: *and he shall lay his hand — —, and he shall kill*. The benediction should follow immediately on the washing of hands: *Lift up your hands to the sanctuary and bless ye JHWH*. The *Tefilla* should follow immediately on the *Geulla*, as it is said: *Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before thee, JHWH, my Rock, and my Redeemer*. What is written after it? *JHWH hear thee in the day of trouble*. And R. Jose b. Abin said: A man who performs the act of laying on his hands and of slaughtering in immediate succession, no disqualified touches this sacrifice. A man who says the benediction immediately after washing his hands, him Satan does not denounce at this meal. A man who says the *Tefilla* immediately after the *Geulla*, him Satan does not denounce the whole day. R. Ammi said: A man who

ber of passages recited in the evening. In the *Shema* of the morning three Scripture passages and three *berakot* are recited, and in the *Shema* of the evening two Scripture passages and four *berakot* are recited. (The third Scripture passage, Num. 15:37—41, being left out, since the commandment of the fringes does not apply in the night time, MBer. II, 3).

This is the Palestinian usage, but in Babylonia this passage was also recited in the evening, cf. Elb. 101. RaMBaM gives the following reason for the reading of this passage in the evening: "Although the precept concerning fringes is not incumbent at night, it [i. e. the section regarding fringes] is recited at night, because it mentions the departure from Egypt, and it is a duty to recall the departure from Egypt by day and night, as it is said: *that thou mayest remember the day of thy going out of Egypt all days of thy life*" (RaMBaM, HS, I, 3). *seven times I praise thee*, Ps. 119:164: refers to the seven *berakot* recited daily in connection with the *Shema* (three of them in the morning and four in the evening). This dictum of R. Nachman in the name of R. Mani occurs too in Midr. Tehillim. R. Zera etc.: PT Ber. I, 1, cf. Ber. 42 a. *and he shall lay his hand* etc.: Lev. 1:4, 4. *Lift up your hands* etc. Ps. 134:2. Let the

does not recite the *Tefilla* immediately after the *Geulla*, to what is he to be compared? [He is like] the friend of a king who came and knocked at the king's door, but when the king went out to know what he desired, he found that he had withdrawn, [so] he withdrew likewise. And also Hezekiah, the king of Judah, said the following before the Holy One, blessed be He!, as it is written: *Remember now, JHWH, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth and with a whole heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight.* And we read [in the Talmud]: What does it mean: *I have done that which is good in thy sight?* R. Judah said in the name of Rab: that he combined the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla*. R. Jose b. Eliaqim witnessed in the name of the holy congregation in Jerusalem: "He who combines the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla* is not injured the whole day."

XXXI. And they stand up for the *Tefilla*. And a person who prays the *Tefilla* must concentrate his mind and pray in a low voice so that he does not raise his voice, because the rabbis taught: A person who prays the

words etc. Ps. 19:5. JHWH hear thee etc.: Ps. 20:1. Remember now etc.: Is. 38:3. And we read etc. Ber. 10 b. R. Jose b. Eliaqim etc. Ber. 9 b.

"The holy congregation in Jerusalem" is mentioned several times in the Talmud (cf. Herzfeld: Geschichte des Volkes Israel, II, 395). It seems to be difficult to determine what this expression means. Rapaport (cf. Herzfeld, ibid.) and Kohler (cf. Kohler: The origins of the synagogue and the church, 235) assume that "the holy congregation in Jerusalem" was an Essene organization.

XXXI. **because the rabbis taught:** Ber. 31 a. RaMBaM enumerates five requisites for a proper recital of the *Tefilla*: cleansing of the hands, covering of the body, assurance as to the cleanliness of the place where the *Tefilla* is recited, removal of distractions and concentration of the mind, RaMBaM, HT, IV, 1. He emphasizes strongly the importance of the concentration of mind: "A *Tefilla* [recited] without concentration of mind is no *Tefilla*. If one has prayed the *Tefilla* without concentration of mind he must recite it again with concentration. A person who finds that his thoughts are confused and his mind distracted: He should not pray till he has recovered his mental composure. Therefore, if one returns from a journey or if one is weary or distressed: he must not pray the *Tefilla* till his mind is composed", RaMBaM, HT, IV, 15. In the next paragraph RaMBaM goes on to define the concentration of mind: "What is the concentration of mind? That [a man] should turn away his mind from all [extraneous] thoughts and consider himself as if he stood before the Divine Presence", RaMBaM, HT, IV, 16. Cf. Ri. on Joma 53 b: "A man who prays the *Tefilla* should consider himself as if he stood before the Divine Presence, in accordance with that which is written: *I have set JHWH always before me* (Ps. 16:8)." Many precepts regarding the concentration of mind in reciting the *Tefilla*, generally based on Talmudic dicta, are given i Tur, §§ 98, 101, and in SA, §§ 98, 101. A man praying the *Tefilla* should realize that, if he stood before a

Tefilla must concentrate his heart. Abba Saul says: A reminder of this is the text: *Thou wilt direct their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to attend.* R. Judah said: Such was the custom of R. Aqiba: When he prayed with the congregation he used to cut it short and go away, in order not to inconvenience the congregation, but when he prayed by himself, a man would leave him in one corner and find him in another corner, in consequence of his kneelings and prostrations. Perhaps a man should pray the whole day? It has been stated long ago by Daniel: *And three times a day he kneeled upon his knees and prayed and gave thanks before God.* Perhaps Daniel began [this way] when he went into exile? Scripture says: *As he did aforetime.* A man may perhaps pray turning in any direction he wishes? It has been stated long ago by Daniel: *His windows were open in his upper chamber toward*

king who was a mortal man, he would put his words in order and direct his thoughts completely on that which he was going to say. How much more, then, should he do so, when he speaks before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, who searches all thoughts! SA § 98:1 (cf. Erub. 65 a). **Thou wilt direct their heart etc.: Ps. 10:17.** Midr. Tehillim (a.1.) interprets this verse in the following way: "When a man directs his heart on the prayer [*Tefilla*], he can be sure that his prayer [*Tefilla*] will be heard." **R. Judah said etc.: Ber. 31 a. in order not to inconvenience the congregation:** "By detaining them; the congregation would not resume the service until R. Akiba had finished his *Tefillah*" (Simon, 190, note 5). **It has been stated long ago:** the three quotations from Scripture are from Dan. 6:11. Thus a man should pray the *Tefilla* three times daily. RaMaBM states that the Torah does not prescribe how many times the *Tefilla* should be prayed daily, nor does it prescribe the form of the *Tefilla* or a fixed time when it should be prayed, RaMBaM, HT, I, 1. In accordance with Ber. 33 a he says that Ezra and the Great Synagogue ordained the Eighteen *berakot*, RaMBaM, HT, I, 5. They also prescribed that the *Tefilla* should be prayed three times daily, corresponding to the number of the sacrifices, RaMBaM, HT, I, 7, 8. The foundation of this saying of RaMBaM is Ber. 26 b. The Talmudim do not answer the question whether it is permissible to pray the *Tefilla* more than three times daily. But according to an opinion which occurs in *Tanchuma*, (Miqetz 9 [ed. Buber 11] cf. Ginzberg, PT, III, 5) it is forbidden to pray the *Tefilla* more than three times daily. RaMBaM, however, says that if a person wishes to pray the *Tefilla* the whole day, he may do so. Such prayers are accounted to him as free-will offerings. But a congregation does not pray a voluntary *Tefilla*, because the community never brought a free-will offering, RaMBaM, HT, I, 11, 12. **A man may perhaps pray turning in any direction he wishes?** According to Dan. 6:11 a man praying the *Tefilla* should turn in the direction of Jerusalem. "A person outside Palestine turns his face towards the land of Israel and prays the *Tefilla*.

Jerusalem. May one perhaps combine all of them in one? It has been stated long ago by David: *Evening and morning and at noonday I will pray and cry aloud*. Should a man raise his voice when praying? It has been stated long ago by Hannah: *But her voice was not heard*. May a man [first] ask for his own requirements and then say the *Tefilla*? It has been stated long ago by Solomon: *to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer*: 'cry' here means the *Tefilla* and 'prayer' means [private] request.

XXXII. One should not add words after "True and firm", in order to combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla*. But if, after his *Tefilla*, he wishes to say for instance the confession of sin of the Day of Atonement, he may say it. R. Hamnuna said: [We may learn] these important rules from the verses relating to Hannah: *Now, Hannah, she spoke in her heart*. R. Eleazar said: From this we may learn that one who prays the *Tefilla* must concentrate his mind. *Only her lips moved*. R. Eleazar said: From this we may learn that one who prays the *Tefilla* must frame the words distinctly with his lips. *But her*

One who is in the land [of Israel] turns his face towards Jerusalem. One who is in Jerusalem turns his face towards the Temple. One who is in the Temple turns his face towards the Holy of Holies. One who is blind, or cannot determine the quarters, or travelling by ship should direct his heart to the Divine Presence and pray the *Tefilla*" (RaMBaM, HT, V, 3). **May one perhaps combine** etc.: i.e. pray all the three *Tefillot* at one time (Ri. a.l.). **Evening and morning** etc.: (Ps. 55:18), i.e. three times: morning, afternoon and evening. The *Tefilla* should be recited three times daily: in the morning (*Tefillat ha-schachar*), in the afternoon (*Tefillat ha-mincha*) and in the evening (*Tefillat ha-ereb*), MBer. IV, 1. **Should a man raise his voice** etc.: thus a man should not raise his voice when praying the *Tefilla*. "He should not raise his voice during his recital of the *Tefilla* nor may he pray it in his heart [silently alone], but he should pronounce the words with his lips and let it be audible to his ear softly. And he should not let his voice be heard [by others], unless he is sick, or is unable to concentrate his mind without reading aloud", RaMBaM, HT, V, 9. **But her voice** etc.: I Sam. 1:13. **ask for his own requirements** etc.: i.e. pray the thirteen middle *berakot* and afterwards the three first ones which contain praise (cf. Ri. a.l.), **and they say the Tefilla:** of praise (i. e. the three first *berakot*) (Ri. a.l.). **to hearken etc.:** I Kings 8:28, 'cry' here means *Tefilla*: of praise (Ri. a.l.). 'prayer' means [private] request: i.e. request for one's need (Ri. a.l.).

XXXII. **One should not add** etc.: cf. above, ch. XXX. Between the last *beraka* of the *Shema* and the beginning of the *Tefilla* there is no room for private requests. But such requests are allowed after the *Tefilla*. Cf. Ber. 31 a: "A [private] request is not made after 'True and firm', but after the *Tefilla*, even the order of confession of the Day of Atonement may be said." R. Hamnuna etc.: Ber. 31 a, b. The Scripture quotations regarding Hannah are from 1 Sam. 1:13. "Hannah's prayer is considered by

voice was not heard. R. Eleazar said: From this we may learn that one who prays the *Tefilla* must pray in a low voice. *Eli thought that she had been drunken.* R. Eleazar said: From this we can learn that a drunken person is forbidden to pray the *Tefilla*. R. Chanina said: He who foregoes [*ham-mefiq*] the shield in the moment of haughtiness, for him they close and seal troubles, as it is said: *His scales [afiq] are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal.* What authority is there for using the root *pug* in the sense of passing? It is written: *My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, as a stream [afiq] of brooks they pass away.* R. Jochanan said: The relation is: 'he who does not utter' [prayer in the state of drunkenness]. Where is the authority for

the Rabbis to have been 'correct and in accordance with the regulations concerning prayer' (==Amidah)", Ginzberg: Legends, VI, 217. **must concentrate his mind:** it is imperative that the *Tefilla* is said with concentration of mind, cf. Ber. 30 b. As regards the rabbinic ideas concerning concentration of mind, cf. above.ch.XXXI. **a drunken person is forbidden etc.:** Erub. 64a discusses the question whether a drunken person may pray the *Tefilla*. There a distinction is drawn between a *shatuj* and a *shikkor*. The distinction is that a *shikkor* is able to speak before a king while a *shatuj* is not. The distinction is identical with the one made in Erub. 65a (immediately before the passage cited here by Amr.). There it is said that a person who is drunk as Lot was (i.e. is unconscious) is not responsible for his actions. If he is drunk in a lesser degree he is responsible for his actions, but the question is whether he is then free from the duty of praying the *Tefilla*. Ri. (a.l.) says that he is free if he is not able to concentrate his mind. RaMBaM says that a drunken person (*shikkor*) should not pray, because he cannot concentrate his mind. If he prays, his *Tefilla* is an abomination. He must therefore recite the *Tefilla* again after he has recovered from his intoxication. A person under the influence of drink (*shatuj*) should not pray while in that condition. But if he has prayed the *Tefilla* it is regarded as a *Tefilla*. RaMBaM characterizes a *shikkor* as a person who is not able to speak before a king while a *shatuj* is (RaMBaM thus uses the terms *shikkor* and *shatuj* in a contrary way to the usage of Erub. 64 a, RaMBaM, HT, IV, 7). R. Chanina etc.: Erub. 65 a. The first *beraka* of the *Tefilla* is also called "the shield", as it closes with the words "the shield of Abraham", cf. Elb. 43. But in Erub. 65 a it stands for the whole *Tefilla*, as the context deals with the *Tefilla* (cf. too Ri. a.l.). **He who foregoes etc.:** i. e. "who being in wine has enough reverence left to him to feel his unworthiness to stand up in prayer" (Jastrow, 1145 B). (Cf. Ri. a.l.). **for him they close and seal troubles:** that they should not come upon him (Ri. a.l.). **His scales etc.:** Job 41:7. **My brethren etc.:** Job 6:15. 'he who does not utter': thus he says: a person who does not reveal the *Tefilla* (i. e. put it to shame) in the time when he is drunk, i. e. who

using *pug* in the sense of revealing? It is written: *And the channels of the sea [asife jam] appeared, the foundations of the world were discovered [jiggalu]*. And we read [in the Talmud]: Since Scriptural verses may be quoted in favour of one as well as of the other, what is the difference between them? There is a difference between them, because R. Shesheth delivered his sleep to his servant: one is of the opinion of R. Shesheth, the other is not of the opinion of R. Shesheth.

XXXIV. And a person who prays the *Tefilla* must stand in fear, for it is taught [in the Mishna]: One should not stand up to pray the *Tefilla* save with heaviness of the head. And they teach: What is the [Scriptural] source of this rule? R. Eleazar said: Scripture says: *And she was in bitterness of soul and prayed unto JHWH*. And we object and answer until we conclude: But R. Nachman b. Isaac said: [We learn it] from this: *Serve JHWH with*

does not pray the Tefilla (Ri. a.l.). **And the channels etc., Ps. 18:16. because R. Shesheth delivered his sleep to his servant:** he had told his servant to wake him when the time of the *Tefilla* came.

The other is not of the opinion of R. Shesheth: his opinion is that a man should wake of himself (from the state of drunkenness) to be able to pray the *Tefilla* properly.

XXXIII. This chapter only occurs in MS. O and runs as follows: *And a man should always enter two doors into the synagogue and pray the Tefilla, as it is said: "Waiting at the posts of my doors." And anyone who stands outside the synagogue is like one who is not in the synagogue. Even if he turns his face to the synagogue, and there are nine men in the synagogue, he is not reckoned among them, because we are taught: If there are nine men in one place, and one person outside that place, he is not combined with them.*

And a man etc., Ber. 8 a. Waiting at the posts etc., Prov. 8:34. This prescription is interpreted in two different ways. Some authorities think that a man should enter a distance of two door-breadths, i. e. eight hand-breadths, into the synagogue, in order that he should not sit near the door. If he sits near to the door it would seem as though staying in the synagogue were burdensome to him. Other authorities think that the ground for his prescription is that a man sitting near to the door would look out and not be able to concentrate his mind (SA, §90:20). *Because we are taught*, Erub. 92b.

XXXIV. for it is taught etc.: MBer. V, 1. with heaviness of head: "heaviness of head", i. e. bending down the head, a posture expressing a humble, solemn disposition (cf. Jastrow, 616 B). The opposite of it is *qallut rosh*, i. e. "lightmindedness, irreverence, disregard of custom" (Jastrow, 1373 B). Cf. Aboth III, 13: "Laughter and frivolity (*qallut rosh*) make man familiar with unchastity." **And they teach:** Ber. 30 b. **And she was in bitterness of soul:** I Sam. 1:10. **And we object etc.:** Thus Amr. indicates that he leaves out part of the discussion. **Serve JHWH etc.: Ps. 2:11:** i. e. where

fear and rejoice with trembling. And we read [in the Talmud]: What is meant [by the words]: *Rejoice with trembling?* R. Adda b. Mattena said in the name of Rab: In the place where there is rejoicing there should also be trembling. A man should fix a place for his prayer. For R. Chelbo said in the name of R. Hunan, Whosoever has a fixed place for his prayer has the God of Abraham as his helper. And when he dies people will say of him: Where is the pious man, one of the disciples of our father Abraham? How do we know that our father Abraham had a fixed place [for his prayer]? For it is written: *And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he stood before JHWH.* And "standing" means nothing else but the *Tefilla*. For it is said: *Then stood up Phineas, and wrought judgment, and so the plague was stayed.*

XXXV. And R. Chelbo said in the name of R. Hunan: Whosoever prays the *Tefilla* behind a synagogue is called wicked. For it is said: *The wicked walk round about.* Abaye said: This only applies where he does not turn his face towards the synagogue, but if he turns his face to the synagogue there is no objection to it. Rabba b. Chiyya said in the name of R. Jochanan: A man should pray the *Tefilla* in a place designated for prayer. Whence is it

there is a gathering (for prayer and the like) there should also be trembling (cf. Jastrow, 238 B). **A man should fix a place etc.:** this refers to the private recital of the *Tefilla*. RaMBaM, HT, IV, 8—10 gives various precepts regarding the proper place for the private recital of the *Tefilla*: the place should be clean, there should be no disturbing elements etc. Such precepts are yet more elaborated in *Tur*, § 90, and *SA*, § 90. **For R. Chelbo etc.:** Ber. 6 b. **And Abraham etc.:** Gen. 19:27. **Then stood up Phineas etc.:** Ps. 106:30.

XXXV. **And R. Chelbo etc.:** Ber. 6 b. **The wicked walk etc.:** Ps. 12:9. **SA** explains that the expression "behind the synagogue" means the side of the synagogue where its door is, *SA*, § 90:7. If a man stands there and turns his face to the synagogue he is turning in the same direction as the congregation which is praying in the synagogue. In this case he is allowed to pray the *Tefilla* "behind the synagogue". **Rabba b. Chiyya etc., PT Ber. IV, 4. in a place that is designated for prayer:** i.e. a place designated by God, as is pointed out by the reference to Ex. 20:24 where Scripture speaks of a place chosen by God. The place designated by God is the synagogue (cf. Ginzberg, PT, III, 360). Thus if possible one should pray the *Tefilla* in the synagogue. RaMBaM sums up the rabbinical sayings on this subject well in the following way: "The *Tefilla* of the congregation is always heard [by God]. Even if there are sinners among them, the Holy One, blessed be He, does not reject the *Tefilla* of the multitude. Hence, a person should associate himself with the congregation and never pray the *Tefilla* in private when he is able to pray the *Tefilla* with the congregation. And one should always attend the synagogue, morning and evening; for only if prayed in the synagogue

proved? *In every place where you record my name*—[so] it is not written here, but: *where I record my name*. R. Tanchum, in the name of R. Chiyya, said: A man must designate for himself a place in the synagogue for praying the *Tefilla*. Whence is it proved? It is written: *And it came to pass that David came to the top where he worshipped*—[so] it is written, but: *where he used to worship*. R. Jose and R. Chelbo and R. Berechja in the name of R. Chelbo: They reached [in the chain of tradition] up to the name of R. Abdimi from Haifa: A man should turn his face towards the wall and pray the *Tefilla*. Whence is it proved? It is written: *And Hezekiah turned his face towards the wall and prayed unto JHWH*.

XXXVI. R. Judah said in the name of Rab, and, if you will, R. Joshua b. Levi: What is the reason that when a man prays the *Tefilla* there should be nothing interposing between him and the wall? Because it is said: *And Hezekiah turned his face to the wall*. R. Isaac said: If a man would be wise, let him turn southward, if he would be rich, let him turn towards the north. Let it be a sign unto you, the table in the south and the candlestick in the north. R. Joshua b. Levi said: One should always turn southward, because by making him wise it makes him rich, as it is written: *Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour*. And we object: But

is one's *Tefilla* heard at all times. And whoever has a synagogue in his town and does not pray his *Tefilla* in it is called a bad neighbour" (RaMBaM, HT, VIII, 1). Cf. Ber. 7 b, 8 a, 30 b, 6 a. In *every place* etc.: Ex. 20:24. *a place in the synagogue for praying the Tefilla*: in the synagogue also a man should have a place fixed for the *Tefilla*. SA prescribes that a man should choose a place for his *Tefilla* and he should not change it; it is not sufficient to choose a certain synagogue in which to pray one's *Tefilla* but in the synagogue one should also choose a place for the recital of one's *Tefilla*, SA, § 90:19. *where he used to worship*: (2 Sam. 15:32): thus the imperfect *jishtachaweh* must be translated here, as the verse here is used in order to prove that David had a place where he prayed regularly. And *Hezekiah* etc.: Is. 38:2.

XXXVI. R. Judah etc. Ber. 5 b. The reason for this rule is that nothing should be before the praying man which could disturb his concentration (cf. BJ, *Tur*, § 90). But a fixed thing, e.g. a chest, is not an interposing thing (SA § 90:21). R. Isaac etc.: B. Bath. 25 b. *he may turn southward*: in (praying) his *Tefilla* he may turn his face southward (Ri. a.l.), i.e. persons living in Babylonia should turn in the direction of Jerusalem when reciting the *Tefilla*. Let it be a sign etc.: that you should not change [the direction], (Ri. a.l.). *the table in the north* etc.: in the temple (cf. Ex. 40:22, 24). *Length of days* etc.: Prov. 3:16. The Divine Presence dwells in the west:

R. Joshua b. Levi said this: The Divine Presence dwells in the west, and we change: One turns sideways. R. Chanina said to R. Assi: You who are living to the north of the land of Israel [must] face the south.

XXXVII. And he must put his feet in right order. For R. Jose b. R. Chanina said in the name of R. Eliezer b. Jacob: When a man prays, he should place his feet in proper position, as it is said: *And their feet were straight feet*. And in the Palestinian Talmud [we read]: A man who stands up to pray must set his feet together. And two Amoraim, R. Levi and R. Simon [say]: One of them says: As the angels. The other says: As the priests. He who says: As the priests [emphasizes] that it is written: *Thou shalt not go up by steps unto my altar, that thy nakedness should not be discovered thereon*, that [in walking] their heel touches the toe and the toe touches the heel. And he who says: As the angels [emphasizes] that it is written: *And their feet were straight feet*.

in the west is the place of the *Shekina*: cf. Ginzberg, Legends, VI, 153. One turns sideways: to the south (Ri. a.1.), i. e. one directs himself to the west but turns a little to the south (cf. Goldschmidt, a.1.). [must] face the south: that they may turn towards Jerusalem, because it is written (1 Kings 8:48): *and pray unto thee toward their land etc.* (Ri. a.1.).

Löw points out that R. Isaac's dictum did not originally have reference to the direction in which one prayed (Löw: Gesammelte Schriften, IV, 44 ff.). But in later times it was interpreted as referring to prayer, and it was inculcated mnemonically: if you pray for wisdom, you should turn to the south; if you pray for riches, turn to the north. You may notice that the table of showbread was placed on the north side of the tabernacle, the golden candlestick on the south side. R. Isaac's saying is quoted in SA, § 94:2 (the gloss).

Löw gives a survey of Talmudic dicta concerning the direction in which the individual should turn when praying (Löw, ibid., p. 38 ff.). His conclusion is, that the Talmud gives diverse prescriptions in these matters but the opinion is also found that it does matter in which direction a man turns his face when praying (Löw, ibid., 50).

XXXVII. And he must put his feet in right order. "When standing in the *Tefilla* one should put one's feet in right order, one at the side of the other" (RaMBaM, HT, V, 4). SA prescribes that the feet should be put so close together that they look like one foot, in accordance with Ez. 1:7. SA interprets this verse to mean that the feet of the angels seem one foot (SA, § 95:1). For R. Jose etc.: Ber. 10 b. And their feet etc.: Ez. 1:7. And in the Palestinian Talmud: PT Ber. I, 1. Thou shalt not etc.: Ex. 20:26.

XXXVIII.

M:

And they stand up for the *Tefilla* and pray and begin:

JHWH, open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise.

(1). Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob, the great, mighty and revered God: most high God who bestowest loving-

O:

And he begins the *Tefilla*:

JHWH, open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise.

(1). Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob, the great, mighty and revered God, the most high God, who bestowest lovingkindness, possessest

S:

And he begins the *Tefilla*:

JHWH, open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise.

(1). Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob, the great, mighty and revered God, the most high God, who bestowest lovingkindness, possessest

XXXVIII. And they stand in the Tefilla: the *Tefilla* is recited standing, cf. Ber. 26b: "Standing (*Amida*) means *Tefilla*." Therefore it is also called *Amida*. Thus the NT says about the Pharisees that they "love to pray standing", Matth. 6:5: "Originally only the 'deputy of the congregation', the cantor or Hazan, recited it [i.e. the *Tefilla*]; it was not until the Eighteen Benedictions were to be recited that he 'came before the ark' (with the scrolls of the Torah). The congregation listened to the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions while standing, and answered each conclusion of a paragraph with the word Amen, thus making the prayer their own. Individual pious persons may have pronounced the blessings themselves; hence Rabban Gamaliel II ordained that each individual was obligated to recite the prayer for himself but that the reader should then repeat the entire prayer aloud; such repetition is called *hazarah*" (Elbogen, UJE, IV, 25; cf. Elb. 27, 254 f.).

As pointed out above (ch. I) Amr. presupposes that the *chazzan* functions from the beginning of the service, not, as in earlier times, only in the *Tefilla*. MSS. O and S read: "And he [i.e. the *chazzan*] begins". He and the congregation recite the *Tefilla* inaudibly. Afterwards he repeats it aloud, cf. below, ch. LVI—LX.

JHWH, open my lips etc.: Ps. 51:17. The use of this text is prescribed by R. Jochanan, Ber. 4 b. Targ. Am. paraphrases this vers as follows: "I beseech thee, JHWH, give unto me the proper speech (lit. 'the opening of the mouth') to shew forth thy praise, and to worship before thee, as our ancestors with a perfect heart worshipped before thee" (p. 84).

(1). **Blessed be thou** etc. The name of this *beraka* is *Abot* ("Fathers"), referring to God's covenant with the patriarchs, cf. Elb. 43. It begins and ends by "Blessed" but the following *berakot* do not begin by "Blessed", because each of them is connected with the preceding one, cf. Baer 88; RaMBaM, HB, XI, 1. *Abot* has connection with many Scriptural texts: "God of Abraham" etc., cf. Ex. 3:6; "the great, mighty" etc.,

M:

kindness, possesest all things and rememberest the pious deeds of the fathers and wilt bring a redeemer to their children's children for thy name's sake, in love. King, Helper, Saviour and Shield. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Shield of Abraham.

And one bows in the beginning and in the end [of this beraka], for R.

O:

all things and rememberest the pious deeds of the fathers, and wilt bring a redeemer to their children's children for thy name's sake, in love. King, Helper, Saviour and Shield. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Shield of Abraham.

And one bows in the beginning and in the end [of this beraka], for R.

S:

all things and rememberest the pious deeds of the fathers, and wilt bring a redeemer to their children's children for thy name's sake, in love. King, Helper, Saviour and Shield. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Shield of Abraham.

cf. Deut. 10:17; Neh. 9:32; "the most high" etc., cf. Gen. 14:19; "who bestowest lovingkindness", cf. Is. 63:7; "possesest all things", cf. Gen. 14:19; "and rememberest" etc., cf. Lev. 26:42; "and wilt bring a redeemer" etc., cf. Is. 59:20; "for thy name's sake", cf. Ez. 36:23, 24; "in love", cf. Deut. 7:7, 8. "King, Helper, Saviour", words that are very often applied to God in the Scriptures. "Shield of Abraham", cf. Gen. 15:1. The words "King of the universe" which occur regularly in the beginning of a *beraka* are not found here. But the expressions "God of Abraham" and "the great God" are considered equivalent to those words, Baer, 88 (quoting Abudarham and Jarchi). rememberest the pious deeds of the fathers: the doctrine of the "merits of the fathers" is prominent in the rabbinic literature and has considerable importance in the Jewish liturgy (cf. instances mentioned in UJE, X, 634). As to the notion "merit" cf. Odeberg: Fariseism, 32 f: "to have zakut is . . . to have been declared guiltless, or to have been declared worthy, to have been approved, at the best to have been given a special preference. The last mentioned case applies above all to the great religious figures of the past, 'the fathers'. One may speak of their *zakut*". Ginzberg: Legends, quotes many passages from Jewish literature dealing with this subject, cf. part VII (Index), 363. a redeemer: the Messiah. "There is no real reason for the mention of the eschatological hope here. Perhaps the strong emphasis on a future redemption has reference to the Christian conviction that the redemption is already accomplished" (Elb. 43). One might oppose Elbogen's hypothesis with the objection that it would be difficult to explain why, if the *Tefilla* does contain a protest against this Christian belief, it has it in a *beraka* which otherwise makes no reference to the redemption. for thy name's sake: "He has founded the redemption on the pious deeds of the patriarchs, i. e. he remembers the pious deeds of the patriarchs and has regard to their children to redeem them, and although the *zakut* of the patriarchs is perfect he brings a redeemer to their children's children for his name's sake for it persists for ever" (Baer, 88; cf. Tur, §.113).

M:

Chanina the Elder said, in the name of Rab: "When one bows one should bow at [the word] 'Blessed' and when one raises himself one should raise himself at the name [of God]. What is the reason? Because it is written: *JHWH raiseth them that are bowed down.*"

(2). Thou art mighty for ever, JHWH, thou quickenest the dead, thou art mighty to save, and thou causest the dew to fall.

And in the rainy season one says:
who causest the wind to blow and the rain to fall,
who sustainest the living

O:

Chanina the Elder said, in the name of Rab: "When one bows one should bow at the word 'Blessed' and when one raises oneself one should raise oneself at the name [of God], because it is written: *JHWH raiseth them that are bowed down.*"

Thou art mighty for ever, JHWH, thou quickenest the dead, thou art mighty to save.

And in the rainy season one says:
who causest the wind to blow and the rain to fall.

But in the summer one does not recite [these words] but [only]:
who sustainest the living

S:

(2). Thou art mighty for ever, JHWH, thou quickenest the dead.

In the rainy season one says:
who causest the wind to blow and the rain to fall,
who sustainest the living with lovingkindness.

And in the summer it is not necessary [to recite these words] but one says [only]:

And one bows in the beginning etc., Ber. 34 a, cf. RaMBaM, HT, V, 10; SA § 113:1 (cf. also below, ch. XL). **for R. Chanina the Elder etc.**, Ber. 12 a. **JHWH raiseth etc.**, Ps. 146:8.

(2). **Thou art mighty etc.** "Might and power belong unto the Lord of the universe, JHWH, and his might endureth for ever. There is not one of all those who dwell upon the earth, who can do as thy works and thy might. For thou wilt quicken the dead, and rouse those who are asleep among his people, to reward with lovingkindness and truth the righteous who have departed from this world, for the sake of their works by which they made themselves perfect before thee" (Targ. Am., 84). The name of this *beraka* is *Geburot* ("Might"), cf. Elb. 44 f., since all Divine attributes mentioned in it refer to the power of God (Baer, 89). As Elb. points out it is remarkable that an article of faith, the resurrection, is stressed in this *beraka*, Elb. 29 f., 44. The doctrine of the resurrection was a matter of contention between the Sadducees and the Pharisees as we know from the New Testament, Acts 23:8. It seems probable that Elb. and Abr. are right when they think that it is the Pharisees who introduced into the *Tefilla* "this emphatic statement of belief in the dogma" [of resurrection] (Abr. lix, cf. Elb. 29 f.).

M:

with lovingkindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, loosest them that are bound and keepest faith to them that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of mighty acts, and who resemblest thee, King, who killest and quickenest and causest salvation to spring forth. And faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who quickenest the dead.

(3). From generation to generation give homage to God, for he alone is high and holy, and thy praise, our God, shall not depart from our mouth for ever and ever, for a great and holy King art thou. Blessed be thou, JHWH, thou holy God.

O:

with lovingkindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, loosest them that are bound and keepest faith to them that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of mighty acts, and who resemblest thee, King, who killest and quickenest and causest salvation to spring forth. And faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who quickenest the dead.

(3). From generation to generation give homage to God, for he alone is high and holy, and thy praise, our God, shall not depart from our mouth for ever and ever, for a great and holy king art thou. Blessed be thou, JHWH, thou holy God.

S:

who sustaineſt the living with lovingkindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healeſt the sick, looseſt them that are bound and keepefteſt faith to them that ſleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, Lord of mighty acts, and who reſemblēſt thee, O King, who killēſt and quickenēſt and ſoon cauſeſt ſalvation to ſpring forth. And faſhful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who quickenest the dead.

(3). From generation to generation give homage to God, for he alone is high and holy, and thy praise, our God, shall not depart from our mouth for ever, for a great and holy king art thou. Blessed be thou JHWH, thou holy God.

Abr. thinks that this was probably done in the reign of John Hyrcanus, 135—104 B.C. In the rainy season etc. The rainfall is mentioned in the *beraka* of the resurrection "because it is put on a level with the resurrection of the dead", Ber. 33 a, i.e. by the rain the dead earth is revived. Cf. Taan. 2 a: "The Holy One, blessed be He, has three keys in his hand which are not left to a deputy (*shaliach*): the key to the rain, the key to life, and the key to the resurrection." quickenest the dead with great mercy: cf. Sanh. 92 b: "JHWH kills in righteousness and revives in mercy." supportest the falling: Ps. 145:14; 146:8. looseſt them that are bound: Ps. 146:7. keepefteſt faith with them that ſleep in the dust, cf. Dan. 12:2. who killēſt and quickenēſt, 1 Sam. 2:6.

(3). From generation to generation etc. The name of this *beraka* is *Qedushat ha-Shem* ("Sanctification of the name"), cf. Elb. 45, 61 ff. Cf. the *Qedusha* of the *Joser* or,

M:

(4). Thou favourest man with knowledge and teachest a human being understanding. Favour us with knowledge, understanding and discernment from thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who graciously bestowest knowledge.

(5). Cause us to return, our Father, unto thy Torah, and draw us near, our King, unto thy service, and bring us back in perfect repentance before thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who delightest in repentance.

O:

(4). Thou favourest man with knowledge and teachest a human being understanding. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who graciously bestowest knowledge.

(5). Cause us to return, our Father, unto thy Torah; draw us near, our King, unto thy service, and bring us back in perfect repentance unto thy presence. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who delightest in repentance.

S:

(4). Thou favourest man with knowledge and teachest a human being understanding. Favour us with knowledge, understanding and discernment from thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who graciously bestowest knowledge.

(5). Cause us to return, our Father, unto thy Torah, and draw us near, our King, unto thy service, and bring us back in perfect repentance before thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who delightest in repentance.

above, p. 47 f. When the *Tefilla* is repeated aloud by the *sheliach sibbur* he recites here the *Qedusha*, the Thrice-Holy, cf. below, ch. LVI. When the congregation recites the third *beraka* inaudibly only the closing paragraph is said: **From generation to generation etc., cf. Ps. 145:4. shall not depart etc., cf. Is. 59:21.**

(4). **Thou favourest man with knowledge etc.** This *beraka* is called *Bina* ("Intelligence"), sometimes also *Dea* ("Knowledge") and *Birkat chokma* ("The prayer of wisdom"), cf. Elb. 46 f. It contains the petition for knowledge. By knowledge here, a knowledge of what is good in a religious and moral sense is to be understood. Ber. V, 2 prescribes that the *Habdala* ["separation"], i.e. the *beraka* by which the Sabbath or any other holy day is ushered out] which is recited on the Sabbath, should be inserted in *Bina*. Cf. Ber. 33 a: "Because it is a kind of wisdom, it was inserted in the *beraka* of wisdom." Ri. (a.l.) comments: "Wisdom which knows how to distinguish between holy and profane and between unclean and clean." Abr. aptly remarks that this *beraka* may be compared with the prayer of Solomon, I Kings 3:9 (Abr. lxi). **teachest the human being understanding**, cf. Ps. 94:10. **knowledge, understanding**, cf. Jer. 3:15. Judah Halevi thinks that there are good reasons why *Bina* has the first place among the petitions of the *Tefilla*: it is by means of understanding and discernment that man is brought near to God. For that reason the petition for knowledge has its place before the following *beraka*: so as to teach us that the understanding should be applied to the Torah and the service of God, *Kuzari*, III, 19.

(5). **Cause us to return etc.** The name of this *beraka* is *Teshuba* ("Return (to God)", "Repentance"), cf. Elb. 47, a petition that God may bring about the repentance

M:

(6). Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, our King, for we have transgressed, for thou art good and forgiving. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who art gracious and dost abundantly forgive.

(7). Look upon our affliction and plead our cause, and redeem us speedily for thy name's sake; for thou art a mighty Redeemer. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Redeemer of Israel.

O:

(6). Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, our King, for we have transgressed. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who art gracious and dost abundantly forgive.

(7). Look upon our affliction and plead our cause, and redeem us speedily for thy name's sake; for thou art a mighty Redeemer. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Redeemer of Israel.

S:

(6). Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against thee; pardon us, our King, for we have transgressed. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who art gracious and dost abundantly forgive.

(7). Look upon our affliction and plead our cause and hasten and redeem us speedily for thy name's sake, for thou art a Redeemer and mighty. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the Redeemer of Israel.

of men. Every man needs to repent. Repentance "is one of those principles which are an indispensable element in the creed of the followers of the Torah. For it is impossible for a man to be entirely free from error and sin", RaMBaM, *More Nebukim*, III, 36. He defines repentance in the following way: "What is repentance? It consists in this that [the sinner] abandons his sin and removes it from his thoughts and resolves in his heart never to repeat it, as it is said: *Let the wicked forsake his way, and the man of iniquity his thoughts*. Further he regrets the past, as it is said: *Surely, after that I turned I repented, after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh*; and that he calls Him who knows all secrets to witness that he will never return to this sin again, as it is said: *neither will he call any more the work of our hands our God, for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy*. It is also necessary that he should make oral confession and utter the resolutions which he has made in his heart", RaMBaM, *Hilkot Teshuba*, II, 2 (III). (The Biblical texts quoted in this passage are Is. 55:7; Jer. 31:19; Hos. 14:4). As the man is free (cf. Odeberg: Faricism, 54 ff) he is always able to return to God. "Free will has been bestowed on man. If he will return towards the good way and be righteous, he has power to do so; and if he wishes to turn towards the evil way and be wicked, he is at liberty to do so", RaMBaM, *Hilkot Teshuba*, V, 1.

(6). **Forgive us, our Father** etc. The name of this *beraka* is *Selicha* ("Forgiveness"), a prayer for forgiveness of sins, cf. Elb. 47 f. God is always ready to receive the repentant sinner and forgive his sins (cf. Sjöberg: *Gott und die Sünder*, 126 ff.). But forgiveness is conditioned by repentance. If the sinner does not repent, the sacrifices and the day of atonement do not atone for him, cf. Sjöberg, ibid., 141. **dost abundantly forgive**, cf. Is. 55:7.

(7). **Look upon our affliction** etc. This *beraka* is called *Geulla* ("Redemption"), cf. Elb. 48. In Meg. 17 b (quoted by Amr. below, ch. XLII) this *beraka* is spoken of as a

M:

(8). Heal us, JHWH, and we shall be healed; save us and we shall be saved, and grant a perfect healing to all our wounds; for thou, God, is a merciful Physician. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who healest the sick of thy people Israel.

(9). Bless this year unto us, JHWH, our God, for [our] welfare, and give dew and rain for

O:

(8). Heal us, JHWH, and we shall be healed; save us, and we shall be saved; for thou art our praise. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who healest the sick of thy people Israel.

(9). Bless this year unto us, JHWH, our God, for [our] welfare, and every kind of produce thereof.

S:

(8). Heal us, JHWH, our God, and we shall be healed from all our sicknesses; for thou, God, art a merciful Physician. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who healest the sick of thy people Israel.

(9). Bless this year unto us, JHWH, our God, for [our] welfare, and every kind of produce thereof.

petition for the future redemption of Israel through the Messiah. But Ri. (a.l.) says that the redemption that is meant here is from troubles which commonly meet us, and not redemption from the dispersion, since the tenth, fourteenth and fifteenth paragraphs of the *Tefilla* contain petitions for national redemption (cf. BJ, *Tur*, § 115). Ri. feels rightly, that a general petition for national redemption is out of place in the seventh paragraph; but his explanation that this paragraph refers to private troubles cannot be reconciled with the Talmudic dictum cited above. The seventh paragraph seems to be "partly superfluous and partly misplaced" (Zunz, GV, 381). Elb. is of the same opinion, Elb. 30, 35 f. "It has still not been sufficiently explained why petition seven was included in the Eighteen Benedictions. This petition, to judge from those before and after it, would have to be counted as a personal one; however, in contents it forms one of the national petitions" (UJE, IV, 24). Elbogen thinks that it was probably taken over from the fast days (*ibid.*). Zunz thinks that the petition was composed in a time of outward national distress, in the time of Antiochus IV. or Pompey (Zunz, GV, 381). Look upon our affliction etc., cf. Ps. 119:153, 154. a mighty Redeemer, cf. Jer. 50:34.

(8). Heal us, JHWH, etc. The name of this *beraka* is *Refua* ("Healing"), a petition for the healing of the sick and thus a petition for bodily health, cf. Elb. 48 f. The paragraph is based on Jer. 17:14 (*Heal me, JHWH, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved*), cf. also Jer. 30:17.

(9). Bless this year etc. This paragraph is called *Birkat ha-shanim* ("Prayer for the [good] years"), cf. Elb. 49 f. "It goes back to the period when Israel still dwelt in Palestine, and agriculture was the staple occupation of the people" (Abr. lxiii). M Ber. V, 2 prescribes that the miracle of rainfall should be mentioned in the *beraka* of resurrection (i. e. *Geburot*), and the petition for rain in the *beraka* of the years (i. e. *Birkat ha-shanim*). Thus the rain is mentioned in two paragraphs of the *Tefilla*. But the

M:

blessing upon the face of the earth, and wind on the land, and satisfy the whole world by thy goodness and fill our hands from thy blessings and from the riches of the gifts of thy hands, and watch and rescue this year from all evil and from all destruction and from all calamity, and make it a hope, and let the end of it be peace. Spare us, and have mercy upon us and upon all the produce of it, and upon all the fruits of it, and bless it like [good] years with blessing of dew, and life, and plenty, and peace. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest the years.

XXXIX. And from the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox until the afternoon-*Tefilla*—and the afternoon-*Tefilla* included—of the eve of the first day of the Passover one prays thus:

And give dew and rain etc.

But from the afternoon-*Tefilla* of the fourteenth of Nisan, i. e. the eve of the festival, one does not pray for

O:

XXXIX. And from the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox until the afternoon-*Tefilla*—and the afternoon-*Tefilla* included—of the eve of the first day of the Passover one prays thus:

And give dew and rain for a blessing upon the face of the earth, and satisfy the world by thy blessings, and [give] wind on the land from the riches of gifts of thy hands, and guard and save this year from all evil, and from all destruction, and from all calamity, and let its end be plenty and peace, and bless the work of our hands, and bless it like [other] good years, for thou, God, art good and beneficent and forgiving. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest the years.

But from the afternoon-*Tefilla* of the fourteenth of Nisan, i. e. the eve of the festival, one does not pray for dew and rain in the *Birkat ha-shanim* until the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox comes. And on the sixtieth day

S:

XXXIX. And from the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox until the afternoon-*Tefilla*—and the afternoon-*Tefilla* included—of the eve of the first day of the Passover one prays thus:

And give dew and rain on the face of the earth, and satisfy the whole world from thy blessings, and [give] wind on the land from the riches of the gifts of thy hands, and watch and rescue this year from every sort of destruction and from all other calamities, and let its end be plenty and peace, and give blessings to the work of our hands, and bless it like [other] good years, for thou, God, art good and beneficent. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest the years.

But from the afternoon-*Tefilla* of the fourteenth of Nisan, i. e. the eve of the festival, one does not pray for dew and rain in the *Birkat ha-shanim* until the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox comes. And on the sixtieth day

M:

dew and rain in the *Birkat ha-shanim* until the sixtieth day after the autumnal equinox comes. And on the sixtieth day itself one prays [for dew and rain] because the following problem was proposed by them [i. e. the members of the academy]: Does the sixtieth day belong to the preceding sixty days or to the following sixty days? It belongs to the following sixty days.

(10). Sound the great horn for our freedom, and lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and proclaim liberty to gather us from the four quarters of the earth to our land. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who gatherest the dispersed of thy people Israel.

O:

day itself one prays [for dew and rain] because the following problem was proposed by them [the members of the academy]: does the sixtieth day belong to the preceding sixty days or to the following sixty days?

It belongs to the following sixty days.

In another siddur [is said as follows]: In all places that get moisture and water from dew, as Palestine and Africa (?) they pray for dew and rain on the seventeenth of Marcheshvan, since the Halacha is according to R. Gamliel.

(10). Sound the great horn the great horn for our freedom, and lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and proclaim freedom, to gather us from the four corners of the earth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who gatherest the banished ones of thy people Israel.

S:

itself one prays [for dew and rain] because the following problem was proposed by them [i. e. the members of the academy]: Does the sixtieth day belong to the preceding sixty days or to the following sixty days? And Rab and Samuel were divided in this matter but R. Papa came and decided it [in this way]: The sixtieth day belongs to the following sixty [days].

(10). Sound the great horn for our freedom, and lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and proclaim freedom, to gather us from the four corners of the earth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who gatherest the banished ones of thy people Israel.

difference between them is that in the first one God is *praised* as the giver of rain, in the second one there is a *petition* for rain. In Babylonia the prayer for rain was inserted in the ninth paragraph of the *Tefilla* from the sixtieth day of the autumnal equinox, i. e. the 3rd or 4th of December, but in Palestine it was inserted from the seventh of Marcheshvan, cf. RaMBaM, HT, II, 16; SA, § 117:1. If anyone wished to pray for rain in the summer, he must insert his prayer in the 16th paragraph of the *Tefilla*, cf. RaMBaM, HT, II, 17; SA § 117:2.

(10) **Sound the great horn etc.** "The assembly of Israel speaketh: 'Sovereign of the universe! Thou hast covenanted with us by thy right hand and mighty arm, that

M:

(11). Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning and reign thou over us, JHWH, alone, in grace and mercy and righteousness and judgment. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the King who lovest righteousness and judgment.

O:

(11). Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and reign thou alone over us, JHWH, in righteousness and judgment. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the King who lovest righteousness and judgment.

S:

(11). Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning and reign thou over us in righteousness and judgment. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who lovest righteousness and judgement.

thou wilt redeem and bring us up out of captivity: and now, when will thy word be fulfilled unto thy captive assembly? Thus doth she say: Sound the great trumpet to gather us to freedom; and, verily, come to gather our captivity from the four corners of the earth unto our own land, as it is written by the hand of the prophet . . ." (Targ. Am., 88). This paragraph is called *Qibbus galuijot* ("gathering together of the dispersed"), a prayer for the regathering of the exiles, cf. Elb. 50. There is no reason to think that this paragraph must date from the period after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D. In old times there was a diaspora, especially in Babylonia and Egypt, Elb. 33; Abr. lxiii. Cf. Eccl. 36:11: "Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit thou them, as from the beginning." The paragraph contains several Biblical phrases: Sound the great horn, cf. Is. 27:13; lift up the ensign, cf. Is. 11:12; to gather our exiles, cf. Is. 56:8; Ps. 147:2; and proclaim liberty, cf. Lev. 25:10; Is. 61:1.

11). **Restore our judges etc.** This paragraph is termed *Birkat mishpat* ("Prayer for justice"). (This name occurs in a late source. In the Talmud this paragraph has no particular name, cf. Elb. 50.) Elb. thinks that this paragraph originally had another form. In its present form it is, in Elbogen's opinion, a criticism of the administration of the law, which no government would have tolerated, neither Hasmonaean, Herodian nor Roman. Elb. thinks that the conclusion of this paragraph indicates that its original content referred to the Messianic judgment, Elb. 33 f. Against the opinion of Elb. the objection might be raised that, if the paragraph is meant as a criticism of the administration of the law, it would be difficult to find a period even in the Middle Ages when it would have been tolerated by the government. And the prayer for "judges as at the first" need not be interpreted as a criticism of the administration of law. Dembitz's explanation seems probable: "This benediction may have been drawn up just as it stands, when men in full touch with the most religious and patriotic feeling filled the highest courts; for such men would naturally look back to the days of Moses and his seventy associates, or even to King David and the judges whom he installed, though they exceeded David and his contemporaries both in learning and in the love of justice. Deeply religious men have ever looked up with respect to the heroic age of the fathers,

M:

(12). And for the slanderers let there be no hope, and let all the wicked perish in a moment and let all our enemies be speedily cut off, and the dominion of arrogance do thou speedily uproot and crush and humble in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who breakest the wicked and humblest the arrogant.

O:

(12). Let there be no hope for the apostates. (Another siddur: if they do not return to thy covenant). And let the nazarenes and the *minim* perish in a moment, and let all our enemies and them that hate us be speedily cut off. And the dominion of arrogance do thou speedily uproot, and crush, and humble in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who breakest the enemies and humblest the arrogant.

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(12) For the apostates let there be no hope, and may the *minim* perish in a moment, and may all the enemies of thy people be cut off, and the dominion of arrogance do thou speedily uproot, and crush, and humble in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who breakest the wicked and humblest the arrogant.

and the prediction of Isaiah, that there should again be judges as in olden days, became to them a prayer" (Dembitz, 132). The paragraph may be a petition for the restoration of political autonomy, but it seems more probable that it is Messianic (Abr. lxiv). **Restore our judges etc.**, cf. Is. 1:26. **in grace and mercy etc.**, cf. Hos. 2:21; Ps. 33:5.

(12). **And for the slanderers etc.** The twelfth paragraph of the *Tefilla* is called *Birkat ha-minim* ("Prayer against heretics"), cf. Elb. 36 ff, 51 f. Concerning the origin of this *beraka* the Talmud tells the following: "Rabban Gamaliel said to the sages: Can any among you frame a *beraka* relating to the *minim*? Samuel the Lesser arose and composed it", Ber. 28 b. The term *min* can, of course, stand for different kinds of heretics. RaMBaM enumerates five sorts of *minim*, beginning with the atheist and ending with him "who renders worship to any one beside Him [God], to serve as a mediator between the human being and the Lord of the universe" (RaMBaM, *Hilkot Teshuba*, III, 7 [XV]). But there are good reasons to think that Elb. is right in his opinion that the *minim* aimed at in Ber. 28 b are Jewish Christians, Elb. 36 ff. "This petition was one of the means adopted to separate Christianity from Judaism and to expel the Jewish Christians from the synagogue so as to render it impossible for the Jewish Christians to utilize as places of propaganda the synagogues in which they occasionally prayed. For this reason there was introduced a petition which they could neither listen to nor pronounce themselves. The tension between the Jews and the Jewish Christians had grown so great that complete separation had to be achieved. Rabban Gamaliel undertook this measure against the Jewish Christians, and at his instigation Samuel Hakatan composed this prayer against the sectarians, and it was stringently insisted upon that no reader of the services should suppress or omit it; it was to be heard, was to be

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- (13). Towards the righteous and the pious and the true proselytes may thy mercies be stirred, JHWH, our God, and grant a good reward unto
- (13). Towards the righteous and the pious and towards the remnant of thy people Israel and towards the true proselytes may thy mercies be stirred, JHWH, our God, and grant a good reward unto
- (13). Towards the righteous and the pious and the true proselytes may thy mercies be stirred, JHWH, our God, and grant a good reward unto

acknowledged by the entire community by means of the word Amen, and was intended to keep Jewish Christians away from the synagogue" (Elbogen, UJE, IV, 24, cf. Elb. 516 f.). Among Elbogen's reasons for this opinion the two following ought to be especially stressed: 1. Justin the Martyr and Hieronymus tell that the Jews used to curse the Christians thrice daily (cf. Elb. 516). Since there is nothing else in the daily service which can be termed as a curse against the Christians, this notice very probably refers to the *Birkat ha-minim*. 2. MS. O of Amr. has also the word *noserim* (nazarenes, i. e. Jewish Christians) in *Birkat ha-minim*. But this word is omitted by Frumkin in his edition of this MS., cf. Fr. 253. The reading *noserim* is found also in a Geniza text, cf. literature given by Dugmore, 4.

The text of the *Birkat ha-minim* has often been altered which is also illustrated by the MSS of Amr. MS. M begins by mentioning *malshinim* ("slanderers"), MSS. OS by *meshummadiim*. *Meshummad* designates a Jew who apostatizes or is lax in his religious duties (cf. JE, XI, 281). OS then have *minim* also which must be original, since the paragraph in the Talmud is termed *Birkat ha-minim*, and O, as just mentioned, also has the reading *noserim*. Elbogen rightly remarks: "The original contents of this petition can no longer be recognized from the text as we have it today; church censorship, and the fact that the petition was no longer applicable in later times, led to its alteration until today it is hardly recognizable" (UJE, IV, 24). The censors decided that such words as *min* and *meshummad* were to be removed from Jewish books (cf. Popper: The censorship of Hebrew books, 71, 83).

A much discussed question is whether the word *noserim* originally belonged to the wording of this paragraph. As Jocz (The Jewish people and Jesus Christ, 57) points out there are good reasons to think that the word *noserim* was not originally in the text. "It was added at a time when the word *minim* assumed a wider meaning including all heresies, and when the bitterness against Christianity assumed such depths as to require special mention" (Jocz, ibid.).

(13). **Towards the righteous etc.** The name of this paragraph is *Birkat saddiqim* ("Prayer for the righteous"), a prayer for the righteous, especially for proselytes who from inner conviction have joined Israel, cf. Elb. 52. **the righteous:** "they who keep the commandments of JHWH" (Baer, 95). **the pious:** "great men of a higher rank than the righteous, men who love the Name [of God], do pious deeds and hear themselves reviled but answer not" (Baer, 95). **the true proselytes:** "In Rabbinic Hebrew, the

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to all who faithfully trust in thy name and set our portion with them, so that we may never be put to shame. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the stay and trust of the righteous.

(14). To Jerusalem, thy city, return in mercy, and dwell in it as thou hast spoken; and rebuild it as an everlasting building in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who rebuildest Jerusalem.

(15). Speedily cause the offspring of David to flourish, and let his horn be exalted by thy salvation, because we wait for thy salvation all the day.

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stirred, JHWH, our God, and grant a good reward unto all who faithfully trust in thy name, and set our portion with them for ever, so that we may not be put to shame, for we have trusted in thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the stay and trust of the righteous.

(14). To Jerusalem, thy city, return in mercy, and rebuild it as an everlasting building in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who rebuildest Jerusalem.

(15). Speedily cause the offspring of David to flourish and let our horn be exalted by thy salvation.

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to all who faithfully trust in thy name, and set our portion with them, so that we may never be put to shame. Blessed be thou, JHWH, the stay and trust of the righteous.

(14). To Jerusalem, thy city, return in mercy, and rebuild it as an everlasting building in our days. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who rebuildest Jerusalem.

(15). Speedily cause the offspring of David to flourish and let our horn be exalted by thy salvation. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who causest the

term *ger* means an actual convert, although sometimes for the sake of accuracy, the convert is referred to as 'righteous convert' (*ger sedeq*), 'true convert' (*ger emet*), or 'convert who is a partner of the covenant' (*ger ben berit*)" (Bamberger: Proselytism in the Talmudic period, 274).

so that we never may be put to shame, cf. Ps. 25:2; 71:1.

(14). To Jerusalem, thy city etc. This *beraka* has no particular name in old times, cf. Elb. 52 f. Later it is termed *Birkat Jerusalem* ("Prayer for Jerusalem"), a petition for the [re]building of Jerusalem. Some scholars date this paragraph to the times after 70 A.D. (cf. Elb. 29) but from the Hebrew text of Eccl. 51:12 appears that the expression *bone Jerushalajim* does not necessarily refer to the destruction of the city (Elb., ibid.). It seems very probable that this *beraka*, as well as the following one, "originally referred not to the rebuilding of Jerusalem but to its building, and to its continued enjoyment of the Divine Presence. After the destruction, the contents were modified to refer to the rebuilding" (Abr. lxv). and dwell in it etc., cf. Zech. 8:3. who rebuildest Jerusalem, cf. Ps. 147:2.

(15). Speedily cause the offspring etc. This *beraka* is called *Birkat David* ("a prayer for David"), but this name is of late origin, cf. Elb. 54. The paragraph is a

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Blessed be thou, JHWH, who causest the horn of salvation to flourish.

(16). Hear our voice, JHWH, have mercy upon us and accept our prayer in mercy and favour; for thou art a God who hearkenest unto our prayers and supplications: from thy presence, our King, turn us not empty away, for thou hearkenest to the prayer of every mouth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hearkenest unto prayer.

(17). Accept, JHWH, our God, thy people Israel and their prayer and restore the service to the Holy of Holies of thy

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tion, because we wait for thy salvation. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who causest the horn of salvation to flourish.

(16). Hear our voice, JHWH, our God, and accept our prayer in mercy and favour, for thou art a God who always hearkenest unto our prayers and supplications. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hearkenest unto prayer.

(17). Accept, JHWH, our God, thy people Israel, and speedily receive in love and favour their prayer, and may the service of thy people Israel ever be acceptable

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horn of salvation to flourish.

(16). Hear our voice, JHWH, our God, and have mercy upon us, and accept our prayer in mercy and favour, for thou art a God who always hearkenest unto our prayers and supplications, and may we not turn empty away from thy presence, for thou art a Father full of mercy. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hearkenest unto prayer.

(17). Accept, JHWH, our God, thy people Israel and their prayer, look to and restore the service

petition that God may cause the Messiah of the house of David to come. As to the date of it, cf. above, p. 71. offspring of David, cf. Jer. 33:15. let his horn be exalted, cf. Ps. 112:9. by thy salvation, cf. Ps. 25:5. who causest the horn of salvation etc., cf. Ez. 29:21.

(16). **Hear our voice** etc. This paragraph is termed *Tefilla* ("Prayer"), a petition that God may hear the entire prayer of his people Israel, cf. Elb. 54 f. "The assembly of Israel speaketh before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the worlds! Merciful God, we beseech thee, at all times when we pray unto thee, receive thou our prayers, for thou art JHWH our God. Have pity with us in thy mercy, and receive our petition in mercy and favour. May we not return empty, our Lord, from before thee, for thou receivest the prayer of all those that pray unto thee" (Targ. Am., 90). **turn us not empty away**, cf. Ps. 74:21. **who hearkenest unto prayer**, cf. Ps. 65:3. It is permissible to add after this *beraka* prayers for one's personal need, Ab. Zara 8 a, cf. SA § 119:1.

(17). **Accept, JHWH, our God**, etc. This *beraka* is called *Aboda* ("Service", "Worship"), a prayer for God's gracious acceptance of offerings and prayer. This prayer was recited in the Temple of Jerusalem in connection with the daily sacrifice,

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house, and receive speedily in love and favour the fire-offerings of Israel and their prayer, and may the service of thy people Israel ever be acceptable unto thee, and let our eyes behold thy return to Zion in mercy. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest thy Presence to Zion.

(18). We give thanks unto thee, our God and the God of our fathers; thou art the Rock of our lives, the Shield of our salvation through every generation. We will give thanks unto thee and declare thy praise for our lives which are committed unto thy hand, and for our souls which are in thy charge, and for thy miracles which are daily with us, and for thy wonders and thy benefits which [are wrought] at all times. Thou art all-good for thy mercies fail not, thou art merciful for thy grace never ceases, and we have ever

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unto thee, and in mercy let our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest thy Presence unto Zion.

(18). We give thanks unto thee for thou art JHWH, our God and the God of our fathers, the Rock of our lives, the Shield of our salvation through every generation. We will give thanks unto thee and declare thy praise for our lives which are committed unto thy hand, and for our souls which are in thy charge, and for thy miracles which are daily with us, and for thy wonders and thy benefits which [are wrought] at all times. Thou art all-good for thy mercies fail not. Thou art merciful for thy grace never ceases, and we have ever

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of the Holy of Holies of thy house, and receive speedily in love and favour the fire-offerings of Israel and their prayer, and may the service of thy people Israel ever be acceptable, and let our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who restorest thy Presence to Zion.

(18). We give thanks unto thee for thou art JHWH, our God, the Rock of our lives, the Shield of our salvation art thou through every generation. We will give thanks unto thee and declare thy praise, for our lives which are committed unto thee, and for our souls which are in thy charge. Thou art all-good for thy mercies fail not, thou art merciful for thy lovingkind-

Elb. 55. But after the destruction of the Temple some changes were made in it: the phrases "restore the service" etc., "and let our eyes" etc. and "who restorest" etc. refer to the reestablishment of the offerings and the Temple, cf. Elb. 55, Krauss, TA, 428. It may have been used originally in the Temple of Jerusalem in connection with the offerings, cf. Elb. 55. and let our eyes behold etc., cf. Micah 4:11. Although this *beraka* "is in the *form* a petition, it was regarded as an expression of praise, and thus is not numbered in the section of petitions" (Abr. lxvi),

(18). We give thanks etc. The name of this *beraka* is *Hodaa* ("Thanks"), a prayer of thanksgiving for God's grace and favour. It is very old but has been changed and expanded in the course of time, cf. Elb. 57 f., Abr. lxvii. We give thanks unto thee, cf. Ps. 79:13. thy mercies fail not, cf. Lam. 3:22.

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never cease, we have ever hoped in thee. And bring us not to shame, JHWH, our God, abandon us not and hide not thy face from us, and for all thy name be blessed and exalted, our King, for ever and ever. Everything that liveth should thank thee, Selah, and praise thy name, All-good, in truth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, whose name is All-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks.

(19). Grant peace, welfare, blessing, loving-kindness and mercy unto us and unto all Israel, thy people, and bless us, our Father, even all of us together, with the light of thy countenance; for by the light of thy countenance thou hast given us, JHWH, our God, the Torah of life, love, and grace, and righteousness and mercy, and may it be good in thy sight to bless thy people Israel in mercy at all times. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.

hoped in thee; let us not come to shame, JHWH, our God, and abandon us not and hide not thy face from us. For all these things thy name, our King, shall be blessed and exalted for ever and ever. And everything that liveth shall give thanks unto thee, Selah, and shall praise thy name, thou All-good, in truth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, whose name is All-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks.

(19). Grant peace, welfare, blessing, grace and lovingkindness and mercy unto us and unto all Israel, thy people. And bless us, even all of us together, with the light of thy countenance, for by the light of thy countenance thou hast given us JHWH, our God, Torah and life, love and grace, righteousness, and blessing, and mercy and peace, and may it be good in thy sight to bless thy people Israel at all times. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest thy people Israel.

nesses never cease, for we have ever hoped in thee. Let us not come to shame, JHWH, our God, and abandon us not and hide not thy face from us. And for all these things thy name, our King, shall be blessed and exalted for ever and ever. And everything that liveth shall give thanks unto thee, Selah, and shall praise thy name, thou All-good, in truth. Blessed be thou, JHWH, whose name is All-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks.

(19). Grant peace, welfare, blessing, lovingkindness and mercy unto us and unto all thy people, and bless all of us, our Father, with the light of thy countenance, for by the light of thy countenance thou hast given us, JHWH, our God, the Torah of life, love and lovingkindness, righteousness and mercy and peace, and may it be good in thy sight to bless thy people Israel at all times. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.

(19). Grant peace etc. This paragraph is called *Birkat kohanim* ("Priestly blessing"), a petition for peace, "the Priestly Blessing thrown into the shape of a prayer" (Dembitz,

XL. And one bows in the *Hodaa*, at the beginning and at the end. One [Baraitha] taught: To bow in the *Hodaa* is praiseworthy, while another [Baraitha] taught: It is reprehensible. They contradict one another, but we reply to them: One [speaks of] the beginning, the other [speaks of] the end. And we read [in the Talmud]: Raba bowed in the *Hodaa*, at the beginning and at the end. Raba said: I saw R. Nachman bowing at the beginning and at the end. I have seen R. Sheshet bowing at the beginning and at the end. And we object: The Baraitha says, He who bows in the *Hodaa* is reprehensible. And we settle the difficulty thus: This Baraitha refers to the *Hodaa* in the Hallel. But again we object: The Baraitha says, He who bows in the *Hodaa* in the Hallel, behold, he is reprehensible. And we again settle the difficulty thus: This Baraitha refers to the *Hodaa* in the *Birkat ha-mazon*.

XLI. And a man should add nothing to the order of the *Tefilla* which we have written above, since a Baraitha says: R. Simon ha-Paquli arranged eighteen *berakot* before Rabban Gamliel in their order in Jabne. And R. Jeremiah and perhaps R. Chiyya b. Abba and many say that it was taught in a Baraitha: One hundred and twenty elders, and among them many prophets, arranged the eighteen *berakot* in their order.

118). It is joined to the Priestly Blessing (i.e. the formula of benediction in Numb. 6:24—26), cf. below, ch. LX ff.

XL. And one bows etc., Ber. 34 a. *qeriah* is the bowing or bending the upper part of the body at the beginning and the end of the *Tefilla*, a relic of the old *qeriah* ("bending the knee"), cf. JE, I, 211. but we reply: i.e. we explain the contradiction by saying (cf. Jastrow, 1606). One [Baraitha] taught: Ber. 34 b. One [speaks of] the beginning etc., i.e. it is not enough to bow only at the beginning of the *Hodaa* or only at the end of it. in the Hallel: Ps. 113—118 where it is said: *Give thanks unto JHWH, for his mercy endureth for ever*, Ps. 118:1, 29. the *Birkat ha-mazon*: the grace after meals where it is said: "We thank thee, JHWH", cf. below, ch. LXX ff.

XLI. And a man should add nothing etc. Since the *Tefilla* is looked upon as a divine institution, ordained by the sages in the distant past, it is forbidden to add anything to it. Since a Baraitha says: Meg. 17 b. R. Simon ha-Paqoli: concerning the name *ha-Paqoli*, cf. above, p. 68, and Jastrow, s.v. One hundred and twenty elders etc., cf. above, p. 70.

XLII. The rabbis taught: What is the reason for saying *Abot?* Scripture says: *Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty.* And what is the reason for saying *Geburot?* Scripture says: *Give to JHWH glory and strength.* And what is the reason for saying *Kedushat ha-Shem?* Scripture says: *Give to JHWH the glory of his name, bow down to JHWH in holy attire.* And what is the reason for saying the *Bina* after *Qedushat ha-Shem?* Because it is written: *They shall sanctify my name, and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall fear the God of Israel.* And next to it follows: *They also that err in spirit shall come to understanding, and they that murmur shall learn doctrine.* And what is the reason for saying the *Teshuba* after the *Bina?* Because it is written: *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* If this be so, one should say the *Refua* after the *Teshuba.* Do not think so; because it is written: *And let him return unto JHWH, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon,* consequently the *Selicha* comes after the *Teshuba.* And why do you decide to support [your opinion] by that verse? Support [it] with this one! There is written another verse: *Who forgiveth all thy iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction.* This is the reason why the *Geulla* and the *Refua*

XLII. The rabbis taught: Meg. 17 b. This Talmudic passage seeks to explain the order of the paragraphs of the *Tefilla* by logical reasons and Biblical analogies. It is presumed, then, that all the paragraphs had been formulated at the same time which cannot be the case, cf. Elb. 30. A parallel to the passage Meg. 17 b occurs in PT Ber. II, 4. *Give to JHWH, o ye sons of might,* Ps. 29:1. The words *bene 'elim* here interpreted as "the mighty" which is a name of the patriarchs, cf. Midr. Teh. XXIX, 1. The word *elim* is here taken as referring to the first paragraph of the *Tefilla* (*Abot*). *Give to JHWH glory and strength,* Ps. 29:1. The word "strength" is here taken as referring to the second *beraka* of the *Tefilla* where the might of God is praised. *Give to JHWH the glory of his name etc.,* Ps. 29:2. The end of this verse has the phrase "in holy attire" which words here are taken as referring to the third *beraka* where God's holiness is praised (cf. Ri. a.1.). *They shall sanctify etc.,* Is. 29:23. *They also that err etc.,* Is. 29:24. These verses promise knowledge to them that sanctify the name of God. That is the reason why *Bina* succeeds the *Qedushat ha-Shem*. *Make the heart of this people fat etc.,* Is. 6:10. In this verse understanding is mentioned before conversion. *If this be so etc.,* i. e. since in this verse healing is mentioned after repentance. *And let him return etc.,* Is. 55:7. In this verse the forgiveness of sins is mentioned after the repentance. Thus it is evident that the prayer for healing could not precede the prayer for forgiveness. *Who forgiveth etc.,* Ps. 103:3, 4. In this verse the order is:

succeed the *Selicha*. But it is written: *And convert and be healed?!* "Healing" here does not refer to healing of physical diseases but to remission of sins. And what is the reason for saying the *Geulla* as the seventh *beraka*? R. Chiyya b. Abba said: Because in the future, Israel is to be redeemed in the seventh [year], therefore they fixed it in the seventh place. But did not the master say that in the sixth year voices [are to be heard], in the seventh wars, in the end of the seventh year the son of David will come? War even is the beginning of the redemption, and the beginning of the redemption at all events is in the seventh year. And what is the reason for saying the *Refua* as the eighth *beraka*? R. Acha, and if you wish to say, R. Levi, said: Because the circumcision which needs healing, is made on the eighth day. Therefore they fixed it in the eighth place. And what is the reason for saying the *Birkat ha-shanim* as the ninth *beraka*? R. Alexandri said: Against those who raise prices, because it is written: *Break thou the arm of the wicked and evil man; seek out his wickedness till thou find none.* And David said this in the ninth chapter. And what is the reason for saying the *Qibbus galujot* after the *Birkat ha-shanim*? Because it is said: *But ye, o mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people Israel; for they are at hand to come.* And as soon as the exiles are gathered judgment will be executed upon the wicked, for it is written: *And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purge away thy dross as with lye, and will take all thine alloy.* And it is written: *And I will restore thy judges as at the first.* And as soon as judgment has been executed upon the godless, the *minim* will be destroyed, and one includes the wicked with the *minim*, as it is said: *And the destruction of the transgressors shall be together, and they that forsake JHWH*

forgiveness, healing, redemption. in the seventh year, i. e. of the Messianic septennium, cf. Sanh. 97 a. The Messianic era will be immediately preceded by a period of woes, misfortune and wars ("the pangs of the Messiah"), Sota IX, 15; Sanh. 97 a—98 a; cf. Matt. 24:8 et par. (On "the pangs of the Messiah", cf. e. g. Klausner: Die Messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten, Berlin 1904, pp. 47—57). **Against those who raise prices** (speculating on a coming scarcity, cf. Jastrow, 1219): a bad harvest gives the grain-dealers the opportunity to raise prices. **Break thou etc., Ps. 10:15.** But ye, o mountains etc., Ez. 36:8. This verse speaks both of the fruit of the land and the return of Israel. **And I will turn my hand etc., Is. 1:25.** **And I will restore etc., Is. 1:26.** the "minim" will be destroyed: as to the term *minim* cf. above, p. 93. **And the destruction etc., Is. 1:28.** The *Birkat ha-minim* succeeds the *Birkat mishpat* because in Is. 1 verse 28, predicting that the transgressors will be

shall be consumed. And as soon as the *minim* have been destroyed, the horns of the righteous will be raised, as it is said: *And all the horns of the wicked I will cut off; the horns of the righteous shall be exalted.* And one includes the proselytes with the righteous, for it is written: *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man.* And next to it follows: *And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land.* And where are the horns of the righteous raised? In Jerusalem, as it is said: *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee.* And as soon as they come to Jerusalem, David comes, as it is said: *Afterwards the children of Israel shall return, and seek JHWH, their God, and David, their king.* And as soon as David comes, prayer comes, as it is said: *Even them I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer.* And as soon as prayer comes, the Temple service comes, as it is said: *Their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon my altar.* And as soon as the Temple service comes, the thanksgiving comes, as it is written: *Whoso*

destroyed, succeeds the sayings regarding judgement in vv. 25, 26. *And all the horns of the wicked etc.*, Ps. 75:11. In this verse the promise that the horns of the righteous shall be raised succeeds the saying that the horns of the wicked shall be cut off. *Thou shalt rise . . . and honour the face of the old man*, Lev. 19:32. Standing is a token of respect, Kidd. 32 b. The phrase "the old man" is used here in the sense of "righteous", since the verse here is quoted in connection with *Birkat saddikim*. *And if a stranger etc.*, Lev. 19:33. This verse puts the stranger (=the proselyte) on a par with the old man, i. e. the righteous man. *Pray for the peace etc.*, Ps. 122:6. Cf. Midr. Tehillim (a.l.): "Why does the *Birkat Jerusalem* succeed the *Birkat saddikim*? Because it is said: *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem.* And where will the horn of the righteous be raised? In Jerusalem." *Afterwards the children of Israel etc.*, Hos. 3:5. According to this dictum David, i. e. the Messiah, will come when Israel has been gathered from the dispersion. There are two opinions concerning the gathering of the dispersed: according to the one God himself gathers his children, according to the other the Messiah will gather them. The first of these opinions is found for instance in important passage of the liturgy: in the tenth paragraph of the *Tefilla* (cf. above, p. 91) and in the *Birkat ha-mazon* (cf. below, p. 148). Cf. Klausner, ibid., 75 f. *the prayer comes:* the name of the sixteenth paragraph is *Tefilla*, cf. above, p. 96. It succeeds the *Birkat Jerusalem* because the service of prayer will be reestablished in Jerusalem after the coming of the Messiah. *Even them etc.*, Is. 56:7. *the Temple service:* refers to the name of the seventeenth paragraph, *Aboda* ("worship") containing the prayer for the restoration of the Temple service (cf. above, p. 96 f.). The restoration of this service was a central point in the future hope of the Tannaim, Klausner, ibid., 116 f. *Their burnt-offerings etc.*, Is. 56:7. *the thanksgiving comes:* refers to the name of the eighteenth

offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving honoureth me. And what is the reason for saying the *Birkat kohanim* after the *Hodaa*? For it is written: *And Aaron lifted up his hand toward the people, and blessed them, and came down from the offering of the sin-offering, and the burnt-offering and the peace offerings.* Should not one say it before the *Aboda*? Is it written: *to offer?* It is written: *from the offering.* So one should say it after the *Aboda!* Thus it is written: *Whoso offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving honoureth me.* Why do you decide to support [your opinion] by this [verse]? Support it by that one. It is correct, since the *Aboda* and the *Hodaa* are in connection with each other. And what is the reason for saying the *Sim shalom* after the *Birkat kohanim*? It is said: *And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them,* and the blessing of the Holy One, blessed be He, is peace, as it is said: *JHWH will give strength unto his people, JHWH will bless his people with peace.* Beyond that it is forbidden to tell the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, since R. Elazar said: What is written: *Who can express the mighty acts of JHWH, or make all his praise to be heard?* Whom does it become to express the mighty acts of the Lord? He who is able to make all his praise to be heard.

paragraph, *Hodaa*, ("Thanksgiving"), (cf. above, p. 97). *Whoso offereth thanksgiving etc.*, Ps. 50:23. As appears from the use made of this verse later in this chapter, it is meant to refer to the thank-offering. **And what is the reason etc.** In the repetition of the *Tefilla* the Priestly Blessing (*Birkat kohanim*, Num. 6:24—26) is inserted before the nineteenth paragraph. This *beraka* itself is called *Birkat kohanim*, for we find here "the priestly blessing thrown into the shape of a prayer" (Dembitz). **And Aaron etc.**, Lev. 9:22. As this verse first mentions the priestly blessing, recited by Aaron, and afterwards speaks of the offerings, the conclusion might be drawn that the *Birkat kohanim* should be recited before the *Aboda* (i.e. the seventeenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*). But such a conclusion would be wrong. The words "from the offering" indicate that Aaron concluded the offering before saying the priestly blessing. **by that [verse]:** i. e. Lev. 9:22. **Support it by this one:** Ps. 50:23. **are in connection with each other:** the thank-offering is a part of the temple service. **Sim shalom:** the initial words of the nineteenth *beraka*, cf. above, p. 96. **And they shall put my name etc.**, Numb. 6:27. **JHWH will give strength etc.**, Ps. 29:11. **Who can express etc.**, Ps. 106:2. **Him who is able etc.** As none can tell all the praise of JHWH one should not recite praise according to one's mind but only as the sages have ordained (cf. Ri. a.l.). One should add no more praise, but confession etc. may be added.

XLIII. But after one has concluded his reciting of the *Tefilla* if he wishes to recite a confession of sin or [prays for] something which he needs, he is allowed to do it. And, after reciting of the *Tefilla*, the rabbis ordained that the following should be said:

M:

Our King, our God, single out thy kingdom in thy world, and single out thy remembrance in thy world, and build thy house, and finish thy Temple. Let thy Messiah come, redeem thy flock and rejoice thy congregation. Do it for thy name's sake. Do it for the sake of thy right hand. Do it for the sake of thy sanctuary. Do it for the sake of thy glory. Do it for the sake of thy kingdom. Do it for the sake of the sanctification of thy name. Do it for the sake of thy greatness and thy glory. Do it for the sake of thy sanctuary and thy Temple. Do it for the sake of thy righteous Messiah. Do it for thy sake and not for our sake. Thou art merciful, thou wilt find us worthy of the years of the Messiah, and of the

O:

Our King, our God, single out thy name in thy world, and single out thy remembrance in thy world. Build up thy house, and finish thy Temple. Let thy Messiah come, redeem thy flock, rejoice thy congregation. Do it for thy name's sake. Do it for the sake of thy sanctuary. Do it for the sake of thy law. Do it for the sake of thy glory. Do it for the sake of thy greatness and glory. Do it for the sake of thy sanctuary and Temple. Do it for the sake of thy Messiah. Do it for thy sake and not for our sake. Thou art merciful, thou wilt find us worthy of the years of Messiah and of the life of the world to come. My God, ere I was created I was worth nothing, and now when I am created I am as if I were not

S:

Our King, our God, single out thy kingdom in thy world, and single out thy remembrance in thy world. Build up thy house, and finish thy Temple. Let thy Messiah come, redeem thy flock, and rejoice thy congregation. Do it for thy name's sake. Do it for the sake of thy right hand. Do it for the sake of thy sanctuary. Do it for the sake of thy glory. Do it for the sake of thy kingdom. Do it for the sake of the sanctification of thy name. Do it for the sake of thy greatness and glory. Do it for the sake of thy righteous Messiah. Do it for thy sake and not for our sake. Thou art merciful, thou wilt find us worthy to behold the Messiah and the life of

XLIII. After the recital of the *Tefilla* is is permissible to say a voluntary prayer. As to the prayer given here ("Our King, our God"), cf. Elb. 59 f. The latter part of it ("My God, ere I was created") is the private prayer of Raba, Ber. 17 a. It is concluded by "Let the word of my mouth" etc. (Ps. 19:15), the prayer of Mar b. Rabina, Ber. 17 a,

M:

life of the world to come. My God, ere I was created I was worth nothing, and now, when I am created, I am as if I were not created, I am dust in my life, so much the more in my death, behold, I am before thee as a vessel full of shame and disgrace. Be it thy will, JHWH, my God, that I may no more sin, and that in which I have sinned, cleanse it away in thy great mercy, but not by sufferings. My God, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. And all who stand up against me for evil speedily, make their counsel of no effect, and frustrate their designs. And open for me the doors of wisdom, the doors of the Torah, the doors of prayer and supplications, the doors of provision and supply. Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my

O:

created. I am dust in my life, so much the more in my death, and behold, I am before thee as a vessel full of shame and disgrace. Be it thy will, JHWH, my God, that I may no more sin, and that in which I have sinned, cleanse it away in thy great mercy, but not by sufferings. My God, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. And let my soul be unto all as dust. And save me from a bad man, and from a bad woman, and from doing evil, and from a bad enemy, and from an evil hindrance, and from hard enactments that are gathering to come into the world. All who stand up against me for evil speedily make their counsel of no effect, frustrate their designs. And open for me the doors of wisdom, the doors of the Torah, the doors of Torah and supplications, the doors of

S:

the world to come. My God, ere I was created [I was worth nothing and now, when I am created I am] as if I were not created. I am dust in my life, so much the more in my death. Behold, I am before thee as a vessel full of shame and disgrace. Be it thy will, JHWH, my God and the God of my fathers, that I may no more sin, and that in which I have sinned, cleanse it away in thy great mercy, but not by sufferings. My God, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb; and let my soul be unto all as dust. Open my heart to thy Torah, and let my soul pursue thy commandments. And all who stand up against me for evil speedily, make their counsel of no effect, and frustrate their designs. And open for us the doors of repentance, of pardon and forgiveness, the doors of provision, and support, and maintenance. Let the words of my mouth and the medi-

cf. Elb. 59. The prayer "Our King, our God" occurs also in *Tur*, § 122, where it is expressly said that it is quoted from Amr. But in *Tur* the latter part of the text is not given in full.

M:

O:

S:

heart be acceptable before thee, JHWH, my Rock and my Redeemer. provision and supply, and let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before thee, JHWH, my Rock and my Redeemer.

XLIV. The rabbis taught: One who prays the *Tefilla* so that his voice can be heard, he is of those who have a little faith. And one who raises his voice when praying the *Tefilla*, behold, he is of the false prophets. And one who belches and yawns when praying the *Tefilla*, behold, he is of the arrogant. And one who sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*, it is a bad sign for him. And some say: Behold, that is indecent. And one who spits when praying the *Tefilla* is like one who spits before a king. "If one lets his voice be heard when praying the *Tefilla*": they taught this only with regard to one who is able to concentrate his mind when speaking in a whisper, but if he is not

This prayer occurs too in the *Manhig* and other medieval sources (cf. Davidson, III, 150 [No. 1758]) but it is not found in the printed siddurim (cf. Elb. 60).

XLIV. The rabbis taught, Ber. 24 b. he is of those who have a little faith: he acts as if God did not hear a prayer in a low voice (cf. Ri. a.l.). of the false prophets: they cried aloud, I Kings 18:28 (cf. Ri. a.l.). of the arrogant: he behaves improperly. it is a bad sign: sneezing is thought of as an omen of death. Therefore it is a Jewish custom to bestow the blessing "Unto life" upon a person who sneezes. "In Jewish Folklore this custom is connected with the Patriarch Jacob. Until his time sneezing had always been a mortal sign, for when a man sneezed he instantly died. Jacob, however, prayed to God to allow him time to prepare for his death and make his will. His request was granted, and Joseph was thus informed that his father was sick. It henceforth became a rule that illness should precede death, and hence the custom of saying *Hayim tobim*, for life, to anyone who sneezed (Pirke de R. Eliezer LIII; Ber. 53 b)" (Rapoport: The Folklore of the Jews, 116 f. Cf. Ginzberg: Legends, V. 364). The aim of this blessing (*asuta*) is that the sign of death may be changed into that of life, cf. ERE, IX, 398 a. one is not able to concentrate his mind: the *Tefilla* should be

able to concentrate his mind when speaking in a whisper, we have no objection to it. This is the case only when he is praying privately. But if he is in the congregation, it is not custom.

M:

If a man belches or yawns when praying the *Tefilla* and *Tefilla*: [they taught this] in the case only that [he belches or yawns] from below, but [if he does it] from above, there is no objection. If a man sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*: [they have taught this] in the case only that [he does it] from below, but [if he does it] from above, it is a good sign for him, for R. Zeira said: This teaching was impacted upon me by R. Hamnuna and I estimate it as much as all my learning. And if a man sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*, it is a good sign for him. As they give him relief above, so they give him relief below.

O:

If a man belches when praying the *Tefilla* and if he yawns: [they taught this] in the case only that he is not forced [to do so], but if he is forced [to do it], there is no objection. What is said as regards a man who yawns or belches refers to the case that he does it] from below, but [if he does it] from above, it is a good sign for him, for R. Zeira said: This teaching was impacted upon me by R. Hamnuna, and I estimate it as much as all my learning. If a man sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*, it is a good sign for him. As they give him relief below, so they give him relief above.

S:

If a man belches or yawns intentionally, behold, he is of the arrogant, but if he does not do it intentionally there is no objection. If anybody sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*: [they taught this] in the case only that [he does it] from below, but [if he does it] from above, it is a good sign for him, for R. Zeira said: This teaching was impacted upon me by the school of R. Hamnuna and I estimate it as much as all my learning. If a man sneezes when praying the *Tefilla*, it is a good sign for him. As they give him relief below, so they give him relief above.

prayed with concentration of mind. "Any *Tefilla* recited without concentration of mind is not a *Tefilla*", RaMBaM, HT, IV, 15. The *Tefilla* should not be recited only mentally (in thought alone). The words should be pronounced with the lips, but softly, and yet be audible to the speaker's ears, Ber. 31 a, cf. RaMBaM, HT, V, 9. But the worshipper should not allow his voice to be heard by others, unless he is sick or unable to concentrate his mind without reading aloud. He may not, however, do so at public worship so that the congregants shall not be disturbed by his loud praying, RaMBaM, ibid.; SA, § 101:2. If a man belches etc. As appears from a comparison between the MSS. the text must be in disorder here. The substance of the Halakic discussion given here occurs in Ber. 24 b where the text runs thus: "It is right that there is no difficulty in regard to belching and yawning: in the one case it is involuntary, in the other case it

XLV. R. Zeira separated himself from R. Judah because he desired to go up to the land of Israel, since R. Judah said: Whoever goes up from Babylon to the land of Israel transgresses a positive precept, since it is said: *They shall be carried to Babylon and there shall they be, until the day that I remember them, saith JHWH.* He said: I will go and listen to something from the academy. And he went and found a Tanna reciting before R. Judah: If a man is standing praying the *Tefilla* and he breaks wind, he stops and waits until the odour passes off and [then] begins praying the *Tefilla* again. And some say: He taught before him: If he was standing praying the *Tefilla* and he needed to break wind, he should step back four cubits and break wind and wait until the odour passes and turn back and say:

Sovereign of all worlds! Thou hast formed us with various hollows. Well dost thou know our shame and confusion, in our life we are shame and confusion, and our end is worms and maggots.

And he begins [again] from the place where he stopped. He said: If I had come only to hear this from thy mouth, it would have been enough for me. If a man spits when praying the *Tefilla*: this is the case only when he spits out but if he covers it in his robe, there is no objection, for R. Judah

is deliberate. But the sneezing in Rabbi's case does seem to contradict the sneezing in the other? There is no contradiction between sneezing and sneezing either; in the one case it is above, in the other below. For R. Zera said: This dictum was casually imparted to me in the school of R. Hamnuna, and it is worth all the rest of my learning: If one sneezes in his prayer it is a good sign for him, that as they give him relief below so they give him relief above." From below: an euphemism, and I estimate it etc: he often used to sneeze (Ri. a.l.). They give him relief above, from heaven, by fulfilling his prayer (cf. Ri. a.l.). The reading of MS. M reverses the order and must consequently be wrong.—Cf. RaMBaM, HT, IV, 11: "He who in praying the *Tefilla* stretches himself, yawns or sneezes, if he does so voluntarily, his behaviour is unseemly. But if, before praying the *Tefilla*, he examined himself and the act was involuntary, it does not matter."

XLV. R. Zera etc., Ber. 24 b (but Ber. 24 b reads "R. Abba"). R. Zera belonged to the third generation of the Bab. Amoraim and was (like R. Abba) a disciple of R. Judah b. Ezekiel against whose will he went to Palestine (cf. Strack, 141). R. Abba also visited Palestine several times where he at last remained (cf. Strack, 141). They shall etc., Jer. 27:22. And he went etc. As he intended to go to Palestine and R. Judah forbade him, he used not to enter the academy but listened from outside (Ri. a.l.). If a man spits' etc., Ber. 24 b. Before praying the *Tefilla* a man should remove phlegm and everything else which disturbs him, cf. SA, § 92:3.

said: If a man is praying the *Tefilla* and spittle collects in his mouth, he hides it in his cloak. If it is a fine cloak, he hides it in his underwear. But if he is a man whom [the spittle] makes to feel squeamish, he may spit behind him and it is enough for him, for Rabina said: I was once standing before R. Ashi, and he needed to spit and he spat out behind him. They said to him: Master, do you not accept the opinion that one should hide it in one's underwear? He said to him: It makes me feel squeamish.

XLVI. It is forbidden for a man when he prays the *Tefilla* with the congregation to precede to pray by himself before the congregation. And it is forbidden for an Israelite to sit within four cubits of one praying the *Tefilla*, for it is written: *I am the woman that stood by thee here, praying unto JHWH.* And R. Joshua b. Levi said: From this we learn that it is forbidden to sit within four cubits of one praying the *Tefilla*. And it is forbidden to pass in front of one praying, for R. Joshua b. Levi said: It is forbidden to pass in front of those praying the *Tefilla*. What is the reason? Because their praying of the *Tefilla* is interrupted.

XLVII. And it is forbidden to stand in a high place when praying the *Tefilla*, for R. Jose said, in the name of R. Eliezer: A man should never stand in a high place when praying the *Tefilla*, e. g. on a bed, or on a bench, or on a chair, but in a lowly place, as it is said: *Out of the depths have I called thee, JHWH.*

XLVIII. And when one stands praying the *Tefilla* one must put one's feet in right order, for R. Jose said, in the name of R. Eliezer b. Jacob: When one

XLVI. It is forbidden etc., Ber. 28 b. And it is forbidden for an Israelite to sit etc., Ber. 31 b. Cf. SA, § 102. I am the woman etc., I Sam. 1:26. The words of Hannah imply that Eli too was standing (Ri. a.l.). Tosaf. (a.l.) derives from the letter נ in נָמַת עֲמֹתָה (the numerical value of this letter being 5), that Eli was at a distance of five cubits from Hannah.

XLVII. And it is forbidden etc., Ber. 10 b. The place should not be three hand-breaths or more above the floor of the room, cf. RaMBaM, HT, V, 7; SA, § 90:2. Out of the depths etc., Ps. 130:1. This dictum also occurs in Midr. Teh. CXXX, 1.

XLVIII. he must put his feet in right order etc. This dictum also occurs above, ch. XXXVII, but since it is found in all the three MSS. of Amr. it is certainly original

prays one should place one's feet in proper position, as it is said: *And their feet were straight feet.* And it is forbidden for an Israelite to taste anything before praying the *Tefilla*, for R. Jose said, in the name of R. Eliezer: What is the meaning of the verse: *Ye shall not eat with the blood?* Do not eat before ye have prayed [the *Tefilla*] for your blood.

XLIX. And when he has concluded the *Tefilla* he must take three steps backwards and then salute. And if he does not act so, it would have been better if he had not prayed the *Tefilla* at all. And he salutes first to the left which is the right side of the Holy One, blessed be He, for it is written: *At his right hand was a fiery law unto them.* And we read [in the Talmud] in the name of R. Mordecai who said: He must stand in the place where the three steps were finished and salute, and he should not return to the place where he prayed the *Tefilla* and salute. But if he turns back to the first place and salutes, to what can he be compared? He is like a disciple who takes leave of his master and comes back to him and does not go but stands near his right side in order to go although he does not go, and when he wants to go he turns back and takes leave of him. He is like a dog which turns back to his vomit. And if he returns to the place where he prayed the *Tefilla* it would have been a mercy for him if he had not prayed the *Tefilla* at all.

in Amr. **And it is forbidden etc.**, cf. Ber. 10 b. It is forbidden to take any refreshment or do any work after daybreak, till the morning *Tefilla* has been recited. Nor should a visit be paid, early in the morning, to a neighbour's home, to greet him, before the morning *Tefilla* has been recited. Nor should one set out on a journey before praying the *Tefilla* (RaMBaM, HT, VI, 4). Cf. SA, § 89:3. **Ye shall not eat etc.**, Lev. 19:26.

For your blood, i. e. for your life (blood also means "life", cf. Jastrow, s. v.).

XLIX. And when he has concluded etc. Cf. Joma 53 b. **and salute:** cf. SA, § 123:1: "One should bow and take three steps backwards being bowed and after one has passed three steps in bowed attitude one should turn one's face to the left side and, before erecting oneself, say the words 'He who maketh peace in his high places. And when saying the words 'may he make peace for us and for all Israel' one should turn one's face to the right, and afterwards one should bow down before him, as a slave who is dismissed from his master." **At his right hand etc.**, Deut. 33:2. This verse is quoted here in order to show that the right side is superior to the left (cf. Ri. ad Joma 53 b). **And we read etc.**, Joma 53 b. **and salute:** i. e. the word *shalom* should be said in the last sentence of the *Tefilla* three steps behind the place where he said the other prayers. **He is like a dog etc.**, Prov. 26:11.

L. And when he has walked three steps he prostrates himself and asks for mercy, and when he has prostrated himself he prays, for R. Chiyya the son of Huna said: I saw Abaye and Raba that when they prostrated themselves they prayed bending to the side. R. Judah said: A man should never pray the *Tefilla* either next to his master or behind his master, and there is a Baraita of R. Eleazar Chasama: A man who prays the *Tefilla* next to his master and a man who prays behind his master and a man who gives greetings to his master or returns a greeting from his master and a man who opposes the school of his master, he causes the Divine Presence to depart from Israel.

LI. A Tanna teaches in a Baraita: Eighteen *berakot*. And they teach also in the Mishna: Rabban Gamliel says: Every day a man should pray the eighteen *berakot*. And we quote from the Gemara: To what do these eighteen *berakot* correspond? R. Hillel, son of R. Samuel b. Nachmani said: To the eighteen times that David mentioned the divine name in the psalm: *Ascribe unto JHWH, o ye mighty*. R. Joseph said: To the eighteen times the divine name is mentioned in the *Shema*, and R. Tanchum said, in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: To the eighteen vertebrae in the spinal column.

L. for R. Hiyya etc., Ber. 34 b. Prostration in Ber. 34 b is described as (falling on one's face and) spreading out hands and feet. Abaye and Raba fell on their faces but did not spread out hands and feet (Ri. a.l.). On the different positions and gestures in the synagogue service, cf. Krauss, SA, 398—413. R. Judah said: Ber. 27 a, b. either next to his master: because he then seems to pretend to be equal to his master (cf. Ri. a.l.). or behind his master: then it might seem as if he prostrated himself before his master (cf. Tosaf. a.l.). gives greetings to his master: i. e. he greets him as he greets a common man without adding the word "Rabbi" (Ri. a.l.).

LI. A Tanna teaches etc. This Baraita is not found in Ber. 28 b ff. or PT Ber. IV, 3. One might expect to find it there, since M Ber. IV, 3 is quoted in the next sentence. And they also teach etc., Ber. IV, 3. Every day a man etc. Rabban Gamliel made it the duty of every individual to recite the eighteen *berakot* every day, cf. Elb. 28. And we quote etc., Ber. 28 b. Ascribe unto JHWH etc., Ps. 29. "In the hour when I mention his name, ascribe to JHWH the glory due unto his name, as Moses said: For I will proclaim the name of JHWH; Ascribe ye greatness unto our God (Deut. 32:3), i.e. recite prayer before him. They said to him: From whence do we know how many? He said to them: Pay attention to how many times the Divine Name occurs in this chapter. They said: Eighteen times. For that reason you should recite eighteen *berakot*." Midr. Teh. XXIX:2. is mentioned in the *Shema*: in its Scripture passages the name JHWH occurs 11 times and Elohim 7 times.

LII. R. Tanchum said, in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: A man who prays the *Tefilla* must bow until all the vertebrae of the spine seem to be loosened. Ulla said: Until a band [of flesh] is visible opposite his heart. R. Chanina said: If he bows his head, he need to do no more. Raba said: This is only if it hurts him [to stoop], and he shows that he would appear as one who bows, but he may not do it like a bag. And we object: These eighteen *berakot* are [really] nineteen? R. Levi said: They instituted the *Birkat ha-minim* in Jabne. To what was it meant to correspond? On the view of Hillel to *The God of glory thundereth*, on the view of R. Joseph to the word *one* in the *Shema*, on the view of R. Tanchum quoting R. Joshua b. Levi, to the little vertebrae in the spinal column.

LIII. There is a Baraitha: After seven years the male hyena is changed into a female etc. up to: After seven years the spinal column of a man is changed into a serpent. This is when he does not bow in *Modim*. And in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud they teach thus: R. Jose b. Abin [said], in the name of R. Zebid: Once in seven years the Holy One, blessed be He, transforms his world etc. The spinal column of a fish changes into a centipede, and [the spinal column] of a man is turned into a serpent. When? When a man does not bow [in *Modim*] with the whole length of his body to the end of the spine.

LII. R. Tanchum said etc., Ber. 28 b. Cf. SA, § 113:4: "The praying man should bow till all the vertebrae of the spinal column are loosened; he should not bow in the midst of his loins and have his head erect but he should bend his head also as a reed." Cf. also Krauss, SA, 401. Until a band etc. This translation according to Ri. (a.l.). But *'isar* also means a coin (*assarius*), cf. Jastrow, s. v. Krauss translates: "until the head is bent so much that one could see so much of the place of the heart as an *Assarion*", Krauss, SA, 401. Cf. idem: Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter, II, 37 f. They instituted etc., cf. above, p. 93. *The God of glory* etc., Ps. 29:3.

LIII. There is a Baraitha etc., B. Kam. 16 a. This Baraitha contains an exemple of animal folk-lore much of which is found in the Talmudim, like the Midrashim, cf. Ginzberg: Legends, V, 58 ff, where this passage is also discussed. in *Modim*: the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*. in the Gemara etc., PT Sabb. I, 3. The text from B. Kam. and PT Sabb. is abbreviated in Amr. Ginzberg thinks that the text of PT Sabb. I, 3 is badly corrupted but could be restored in accordance with B. Kam. 16 a (Ginzberg, ibid.).

LIV. R. Judah said, in the name of Rab: [If a reader] made a mistake in any of the other *berakot*, they do not remove him, [but if he made a mistake] in the *Birkat ha-minim* they remove him, because we suspect him of being a *Min*. R. Judah said, in the name of Rab, or R. Joshua b. Levi: They taught this only with regard to the case of one who has not commenced to say it, but if he has commenced he finishes it.

LV. The seven *berakot* on the Sabbath, as we wish to write further on, to what do they correspond? R. Tachlifa b. Saul said: To the seven voices mentioned by David about the waters. The nine said at the New Year at Musaf, as we shall arrange in order further on, to what do they correspond? Raba from Kartignin said: To the nine times Hannah mentioned the divine name in her prayer, for a master said: At the New Year Sarah, Rachel and Hannah were considered.

LVI. The order of the *Tefilla* of the *sheliach sibbur*. He who goes before the ark says *Abot* and *Geburot*. But before the *Qedushat ha-Shem* he says:

LIV. R. Judah said etc., Ber. 29 a. The *Birkat ha-minim* was formulated in order to detect *minim*. As a *min* would not curse himself he could not recite this paragraph, cf. above, p. 91.

LV. The seven etc. On the Sabbath only the three first and three last paragraphs of the *Tefilla* are recited. Cf. above, p. 15 f. as we wish to write further on, i. e. in the second part of this work. To the seven voices etc., Ps. 29:3 ff. The word "voice" occurs here seven times (vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9). The nine etc., cf. Elb. 141. To the nine times Hannah etc. In the prayer of Hannah, I Sam. 2:1—10, the name JHWH is mentioned nine times (vv. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10). On the New Year . . . were considered, cf. R. H. 11 a. They were childless but on the New Year God considered them.

LVI. The order etc. Every individual should recite the *Tefilla* but afterwards the *sheliach sibbur* should repeat the whole prayer, cf. Elb. 28, 255. The congregation listens to his recital standing and responds "Amen" after the conclusion of each paragraph, in this way making the prayer their own, cf. RaMBaM, HT, VIII, 9. The "Amen" should be answered with concentration of mind. One should think in one's heart: this *beraka* which the reader recites is true, and I believe in it, *Tur*, § 124. He who goes before the ark etc., the technical term for "acting as reader of prayers", cf. Elb. 27.—When repeating the *Tefilla* the *sheliach sibbur* recites the *Qedusha*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII. It is introduced by the solemn *Keter* which accentuates the correspondence between the heavenly service and the service on earth: the heavenly hosts and the congregation of Israel on earth unite in adoring God by saying the *Qedusha*. (As to the *Qedusha*, cf. above, ch. XX.) "3 Enoch dwells exclusively upon celestial hymns, songs and praises, omitting all references to the terrestrial *Qedusha* or other

Unto thee shall the multitudes above with the gatherings below give a crown, all with one accord shall thrice repeat the holy praise unto thee, according to what is said through thy prophet: *and one cried unto another and said:* HOLY, HOLY, HOLY IS JHWH OF HOSTS, THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY. Then with noise of great rushing, mighty and strong, they make their voices heard, and upraising themselves towards them, they say: BLESSED. BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF JHWH FROM HIS PLACE.

songs, chanted by man on earth, e. g. by the congregation of Israel. The whole conception of celestial songs is of course framed by analogy to the songs on earth, but there is no hint of an interpendance between terrestrial and celestial songs" (Odeberg: 3 Enoch, Introd., 184). In this respect 3 En. "accords perfectly with the earlier Enoch literature, especially 2 Enoch" (Odeberg, ibid.). But in Hag. 12 b for example the idea occurs of a correspondence between the heavenly service and service on earth where the preference is accorded to the chanting performed by the congregation of Israel, cf. Odeberg, ibid. The angel Sandalfon who stands behind the chariot of God takes the prayers of Israel and turns them into crowns which he places upon God's head. There are, as Elb. points out (Elb. 64), three different introductions to the *Qedusha*: 1) "We will reverence and sanctify" etc. (cf. Singer, 160). The two initial words of this introduction are found in the tractate *Soferim*, XVI, 12 (it is used in the Musaf *Tefilla* of the ashkenazic liturgy, cf. Singer, 160). This formula is certainly very old, cf. Elb. 64. Its two initial words occur in Is. 29:23 but in inverted order. 2) "We will sanctify" (cf. Singer, 45). This introduction is the simplest one. Elb. points out that it does not mention the angels at all (Elb. 64). It is true that the angels are not expressly mentioned here but of course they are presupposed ("— as they sanctify it in the highest heavens"). It is not found in old sources, Elb. 64. Of course this formula may be old, although it is not found in old sources. The simplicity of this formula might indicate an early origin. 3) "A crown" which, as Elb. observes, occurs in every *Tefilla* in Amr., Elb. 64. The opinion of Elb. is that "We will reverence and sanctify" is the oldest introduction, Elb. 64. But he fails to give real reasons for this view. The fact that this introduction occurs in the tractate *Soferim* does not prove that it is older than *Keter*, since *Soferim* may date from the same period as Amr. (cf. Zunz, GV, 101; Strack, 72). Elb. thinks that *Keter* originates from the Babylonian mystics, i. e. from the time after the completion of the Talmud, Elb. 381. He particularly points out that the notion of the crown which the heavenly hosts and Israel on earth give to God simultaneously is genuinely mystical. But of course this idea may have existed as early as in the times of the Talmud.

As Odeberg points out there is a passage in ed. Warschau of Amr., p. 4, containing the same division of the Thrice Holy as 3 En. XL, 2. But this passage cannot be considered original in Amr. since it is missing in the MSS. Ø and S.

As Odeberg points out there is a passage in ed. Warszawa of Amr., p. 4, containing texts between Is. 6:3 and Ez. 3:12 differ. Three such texts are known, Elb. 65. The one

From thy place shine forth, our King, and reign over us, for we wait upon thee. When wilt thou reign? Reign in Zion, speedily, even in our days and in our lives do thou dwell [there]. Mayest thou be magnified and sanctified in the midst of Jerusalem thy city throughout all generations and to all eternity. And let our eyes behold thy kingdom, according to the word that was spoken in the songs of thy might by David, thy righteous anointed:

JHWH shall reign for ever, thy God, Zion, unto all generations. Hallelujah.

occurring in Amr. hints at Ez. 3:12. **From thy place** etc. A prayer for the coming of the Messianic time when God alone shall reign, cf. Elb. 66. **JHWH shall reign** etc. Ps. 146:10.

Elbogen and Ginzberg refer to sources indicating that the *Qedusha* was used only on Sabbaths, Elb. 62; Ginzberg, GG, I, 129 f., II, 48. But Kohler thinks that this was not the original Palestinian usage, cf. HUCA, I, 397. He is of the opinion that there can be no question that "the reference to the Isaianic theophany and afterwards also to the one in Ezekiel formed part of the original Benediction which dates back to the pre-Christian century, as is evidenced by a comparison with the Ethiopic Enoch 39:12 (and the Slavonic Enoch 21), the Essene version preserved in B. VII of the Apostolic Constitutions, John's Apocalypse 4:8 and the various Church liturgies, giving such a prominent place to the Angelic Song" (Kohler, *ibid.*).

The important point in Kohler's statement is the reference to 1 and 2 Enoch (cf. also above, ch. XX). A reference to 3 Enoch which probably dates from the middle of the third century A. D. should be added here (cf. Odeberg: 3 Enoch, Introd., 38, 186 f., cf. above ch. XX). Thus the *Qedusha* even in pre-Christian times must have held a very important place, probably the central place, in the synagogue service. As the service was a daily one, the *Qedusha* was certainly recited daily. Kohler is right when emphasizing the importance of the *Qedusha* in the early Christian liturgy. This argument could be strengthened by a reference to the relation of the early Christian service to that of the synagogue service. Christ Himself and the early Christians regarded it as a divine institution; so that, when the Christians could no longer take part in the synagogue service they formed their own service in accordance with that of the synagogue (cf. above, Introd., p. XIV). Thus the important place of the *Qedusha* in the early Christian service indirectly proves that the *Qedusha* must have filled an important place in the synagogue service. Kohler also tries to explain why in Palestine the *Qedusha* was used later only on Sabbaths (Kohler, *ibid.*). This problem cannot be discussed here but apart from the solving of this problem, it is evident that the *Qedusha* held an important place in the synagogue service even in pre-Christian times.

LVII. And R. Natronai, president of the academy of Sura, ordained thus: Thus is the usage of the two academies to say in the *Qedusha* "A crown" and "Then with a noise of great rushing" and "From thy place, our King" etc. And in the Musaf on Sabbaths and on festivals and on the Day of Atonement and in the *Neilah* we say twice, "And to be your God", but on the days of the New Moon and on the week-days intervening between the first and the last days of Passover and of Succoth we do not say it. But those among you, who seem to be strict in their observance, but they diminish, or add, or change, they do not right when they deviate from the usage of the two academies. And we do not change our usage from that which the scholars taught in the Talmud, both on Sabbaths as well as on festivals, and if we happen to come to a place and the *chazzan* says anything that is not right we remove him." And R. Sar Shalom, president of the academy of Sura, ordained as follows: To say "twice" in the *Tefilla* in the morning service on Sabbaths and on festivals and on the Day of Atonement is not the usage in the academy and in the whole of Babel, but only in the *Tefilla* in the Musaf, and on the Day of Atonement also in the *Neilah*, because when a decree was enacted by the enemies of Israel completely prohibiting the recital of the *Shema*, the *sheliach sibbur* used to say it secretly when standing in the *Tefilla* of the morning service both on weekdays and on

LVII. **And R. Natronai . . . ordained** etc. R. Natronai, the predecessor of R. Amram, cf. above, ch. I. He states what the usage of the two academies was as regards the recital of the *Qedusha* (cf. above, ch. LVI), and that no arbitrary deviations from this usage could be tolerated. **And in the Musaf**, i. e. the additional service added to the morning service on those days for which offerings are prescribed "in addition" to the continual, cf. Elb. 117 ff. the *Neilah*, the fifth and concluding service of the day of atonement, Elb. 152 f. "And to be your God": in the Musaf *Qedusha* the first and the last words of the *Shema* ("Hear, Israel", Deut. 6:4, and "and I will be to you a God: I am JHWH, your God", Numb. 15:41) are included, cf. Singer, 160 f. **And R. Sar Shalom** etc. R. Sar Shalom ben Boas, Gaon of Sura where he died about 859 or 864, having held the gaonate for ten years. He was the predecessor of R. Natronai b. Hilai, cf. JE, XI, 52; Weiss: Zur Geschichte, 112 ff. **To say "twice"**: פְּעִמִּים is a catchword for בָּאֵחֶבֶת שְׁמַע אָוֹרִים, cf. Amr. part II, ch. 33, cf. also Singer, 160. **is not the usage**: In the morning service on Sabbaths etc. it is not the usage to include the *Shema* in the *Qedusha*. **a decree was enacted** etc. In a time of

Sabbaths. And when the decree was abolished and they recited the *Shema* correctly, and prayed the *Tefilla*, they desired to remove it wholly, since the *Shema* had returned to its place; but the scholars said in that generation it was established in the Musaf, because there is no reciting of the *Shema*. Why did they fix it in the Musaf? In order that the wonder [of the reinstitution of the *Shema*] should be proclaimed to the [coming] generations. Therefore they say it in the Musaf, but they do not say it in the morning service because [there] they recited the *Shema* correctly.

LVIII. And, furthermore, they asked before R. Natronai Gaon: In a place where there is nobody who is used to go before the ark as reader with the exception of one, and he has been many a time busily engaged in his work, but there are young men who are eighteen or seventeen years old, although they have not yet a full beard, should one take those as *sheliach sibbur* and those should discharge the members of the congregation their duty, that they may not be exempt from the *Tefilla*? And he answered: This is our opinion as regards what the scholars said: 'A person should not go before the ark as reader or pronounce the Priestly Benediction before he has a full beard': Although a mature man is much to be preferred to a youth,

religious persecution the Jews were forbidden to recite the *Shema*. Then the *sheliach sibbur* used to insert the opening and closing words of the *Shema* in the *Qedusha* where nobody would suspect its presence, cf. Elb. 63 seq., Baer, 237. In some other cases also we are told that alternations in the liturgy were due to religious persecution (cf. e. g. above, ch. VII). Bergmann: In der Zeit der Religionsnot (MGWJ, N. F., Jahrg. 36, 1928) terms some of these statements, e. g. the one given above, ch. VII, "Sagenhaft". But he thinks that the notice regarding the *Shema* in the Musaf *Qedusha* may be correct although it might also be explained in another way, Bergmann, ibid., 453.

LVIII. And furthermore etc. The Talmud prescribes that a person who acts as *sheliach sibbur* should have a full beard, Chullin 24 b. RaMBaM says that the *sheliach sibbur* must have a full beard "out of respect for the congregation". Therefore, even a great scholar should not act as *sheliach sibbur* if his beard is not full grown, RaMBaM, HT, VIII, 11; cf. SA, § 53:6. The Talmud speaks of the beard as the glory of the face, Sabb. 152 a. Cf. Krauss, TA, I, 194, 647 f. The prescription regarding the full beard of the *sheliach sibbur* is a part of the regulations which prescribe that he should be a venerable person, cf. RaMBaM, ibid. those should release the members etc. The *sheliach sibbur* discharges the obligation of the congregation. When he recites the prayers and they respond "Amen" after every *beraka*, they are regarded as praying the *Tefilla*, RaMBaM, HT, VIII, 9. what the scholars said, Chullin 24 b. before he has i full beard: MS. Ø adds: that is the most preferable way of performing this religious

however, rather than neglect the *Qedusha* and "Blessed" and "[JHWH] shall reign" and "Let his [great] name", there is no question that not only a person of eighteen or seventeen years but even a person of thirteen years and one day could be made *sheliach sibbur*. For we read in the Talmud this rule: Whoever is not obliged himself cannot release the many from the obligation [of the command]. But a person thirteen years and one day old, when no other possibility it is right.

LIX. And, furthermore, what you have asked: Can we rely upon the opinion of R. Joshua b. Levi in case of emergency: Nine and a slave may be joined [to make up ten]? [We answer]: The Halacha is not according to R. Joshua b. Levi, and we do not act as he did. And even an emancipated slave who is circumcised but has not yet made ablution we do not count in the appeal [to the partakers to say grace after a common meal], because of the scholars who taught: Women, slaves and minors are not counted [for grace].

act. the *Qedusha*, i. e. the Thrice-Holy in the third paragraph of the *Tefilla*. "Blessed" i. e. the response of the congregation to the words: "Those over against them say, Blessed." "[JHWH] shall reign": response in the *Qedusha* to the words "Blessed be the glory of JHWH from his place", cf. above, ch. LVI.

"Let his [great] name": the response of the congregation in the so-called half-Kaddish, cf. above, ch. XVII (cf. also Singer, 37). a person of thirteen years and one day: the age of responsibility in religious matters. "At thirteen years [one is fit] for [the fulfilling of] the commandments", Abot V, 21. Whoever is not obliged etc., R.H. III, 8. As a person thirteen years old is under an obligation to fulfil the commandments he is able to act as *sheliach sibbur*.

It may be added that the age of majority is the age of physical ripeness, or the age of puberty. But the age of thirteen was the age at which signs of puberty usually appeared. Hence, when no serious issues were involved, one was considered of full age of thirteen, without undergoing physical examination, on the assumption that signs of puberty have developed. Thus, the rabbinical scholars speak very often of the age of majority, without referring at all to the signs of puberty, assuming that one possesses them at this age (Lebendiger: The minor in Jewish law [JQR, N. S., VI, 459—493], esp. p. 468).

LIX. what you have asked: from these words it appears that the Spanish congregation had not only asked for an "order of prayers", they had also sent some questions on special subjects. Letters sent to the Geonim often contained various questions, JE, XI, 243. the opinion of R. Joshua b. Levi etc. The dictum of R. Joshua b. Levi refers to the *zimmun* (the appointment for a common meal, cf. below, ch. LXX ff.). When there are ten at table God's name is employed in the address and response (cf. below, ch. LXXII). Women, slaves and minors etc. Ber. VII, 2. And we read in the Talmud:

And we read in the Talmud: It is obvious that they may not be counted. And we read in the Talmud: The Mishna must mean a slave who is circumcised but has not made ablution. And thus we have learned as R. Chiyya b. Abba said, in the name of R. Jochanan: A man does not become a proselyte until he has been circumcised and has performed ablution [refers to] the joining of nine in the *Tefilla* because we derive it [by the *Gezera shawa* category of] *tok tok* that for any manifestation of sanctification not less than ten are required. And, furthermore, we have heard explicitly from our teachers that these traditions concerning three who eat together [and] for instance nine and a slave, nine and the ark, nine and the Sabbath, [nine] and a boy who has developed signs of puberty, [nine] and a boy who knows to whom the *beraka* is addressed, are not Halacha, and we do not act as they.

LX. And when the *sheliach sibbur* comes to *Modim* the whole congregation is to bend down with him. For R. Chalafta b. Saul said: All should bend down with the *sheliach sibbur* in the *Hodaa*. R. Zeira said: Only in [the word] *Modim*. R. Zeira kept pace with the reader in order to bend down simultaneously with him at the beginning and the end [of the *beraka*]. When

as Frumkin points out this dictum is not found in our edd. of the Talmud, Fr. 281. a slave who is circumcised: our edd. of the Talmud read "proselyte", Ber. 47 b. One does not become etc., Ber. 47 b. When a man became a proselyte he was first instructed concerning the commandments, then he was circumcised, and when he was healed he was baptized (cf. Moore, I, 333). the joining of nine in the *Tefilla*: ten male persons are required for the holding of a congregational service. "If there are less than ten present they may not recite the *Shema* with its *berakot*, nor may one go before the ark, nor may they lift up their hands" etc., Meg. IV, 3. The number ten is derived from Lev. 22:32; Num. 16:21 and 14:27, cf. Meg. 23 b. In later Hebrew this minimum quorum is called *minian* (cf. Jastrow, s. v.) These ten persons form a public (*rabbim*), cf. Elb. 493; Krauss, SA, 98. A slave could be counted only if he had been received by circumcision and ablution, according to the interpretation of the dictum of R. Jochanan given here. But for grace according to the Mishna it is enough if such a slave is circumcised without ablution. because we derive etc., cf. Ber. 21 b. nine and the ark etc., Ber. 47 b. Amr. sums up the Talmudic discussion in these brief phrases.

LX. to "Modim": the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII. is to bend down, Ber 34 a. For R. Chalafta etc., PT Ber., I, 8. *Hodaa*, name of the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII.

the reader: the reader is called *qeroba* because he must change his place and go before the ark (Elb. 497). But it is also possible that the word has a connection with

R. Assi arrived here he saw that they bent down and whispered [a prayer]. He said: What is the reason for whispering? For he did not know that R. Chelbo said etc. in the name of R. Simon:

We give thanks unto thee, Lord of all creatures, God of all thanksgivings, rock of the worlds, life of the worlds, creator of the beginning, who quickenest the dead, that thou hast kept us in life and hast preserved us and protected us and helped us and brought us near to praise thy name. Blessed be thou, JHWH, God of thanksgivings.

R. Bibi [said a formula] in his own name, and R. Samuel in his own name, and Bar Qappara in his own name, and all of them [formulated it] with a concluding clause. It is so in the Palestinian Talmud. But in the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud [we read]: What do the people say when the *sheliach sibbur* says *Modim*? Rab said: We give thanks unto thee, JHWH, our God, because we give thanks unto thee. And Samuel said: JHWH, our God, and God of all flesh, because we give thanks unto thee. The people of Nehardea say in the name of R. Simai: Blessings and thanks unto thy great name that thou hast kept us in life and preserved us. R. Acha b. Jacob concluded it thus: So preserve us in life and be gracious unto us, and gather us and gather our exiles to thy holy courts that we may keep thy laws and do thy will, because we give thanks unto thee. R. Papa said: Because of that we should say all of them. Now should combine them:

We give thanks unto thee, JHWH, our God, and the God of our fathers, the God of all flesh, our creator and the creator of the beginning. Blessings and thanksgivings be unto thy great name because thou hast kept us in life and hast preserved us. Thus be gracious unto us and keep us in life and gather us from the four corners of the world and gather our exiled to thy holy

qorban, sacrifice (Krauss, SA, 133). R. Assi arrived here, i. e. from Babylonia to Palestine. R. Assi was a Palestinian Amora of the third generation (Strack, 140). He was born in Babylonia but emigrated later to Palestine (cf. JE, II, 231). He said: What is the reason etc. As early as in the times of the Amoraim it was the custom that the congregation said a *Modim* when the *sheliach sibbur* repeated the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla* aloud, Elb. 58 f, cf. Singer, 51. This passage was called *Modim derabbanan* (Elb., ibid.). Already the first Babylonian Amoraim, Rab and Samuel, used it, cf. Sota 40 a, but their formula was short. When their disciple R. Assi came to Palestine and saw the congregation recite a long prayer at the time when the *sheliach sibbur* said the *Modim* he was astonished (cf. Ginzberg, PT, I, 185). R. Bibi etc. Our edd. of PT read R. Acha b. Zabdi. But in the Gemara etc., Sota 40 a. the God of all flesh, Jer. 32:27. with a perfect heart, I Chron. 28:9.

courts to observe thy statutes and to do thy will with a perfect heart; seeing that we give thanks unto thee.

And we practice and do this beautiful chain in this way.

The Priestly Blessing.

LXI. Priests lift up their hands in the morning service and in the Musaf and in the Mincha of a fast day, with the exception of the fast of the Day of Atonement, because instead of Mincha they lift up their hands in the Neilah. But a priest who has blemishes on his hands, on his face or on his feet may not lift up his hands. And an intoxicated person should not lift up his hands.

LXI. Priests lift up their hands, i. e. pronounce the priestly blessing. "Priests" are of course the descendants of Aaron. When they recited the blessing they lifted up their hands aloft (cf. Lev. 7:22), so their performing of the blessing is called "raising of the hands". Originally the priestly blessing was a part of the Temple service, cf. Elb. 67; UJE, VIII, 634. But at an early date it must have been transferred to the synagogue, as the Mishna presupposes it to be an integral part of the synagogue service (cf. Ber. V, 4; Meg. IV, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10). There were, however, some differences between the performance of the blessing in the Temple and outside it, Sota VI, 6. The Mishna also presupposes that the priestly blessing is a part of the *Tefilla*, Ber. V, 4.—Since the Mishna speaks of the priestly blessing as an integral part of the synagogue service it seems very probable that this blessing belonged to the synagogue service at the time of Christ.

the Musaf, the "additional service", cf. above, ch. LVII. the Mincha, the afternoon service, cf. below, ch. LXXXIV ff. But a priest etc., Meg. 24 b. A priest who performs the blessing should have no physical blemishes which prevent a priest from performing the priestly blessing. These prescriptions are summarized by RaMBaM in the following way: A priest who has blemishes on his face, on his hands or on his feet, as, for instance one whose fingers are twisted inwards or sideways, or whose hands are covered with tetter, should not raise his hands, as the people will stare at him (RaMBaM, HT, XV, 2). These prescriptions are given in a still more detailed form in SA § 128:30—33. The reason for these precepts is certainly the OT command that a priest should be free from bodily defects (cf. HDB, IV, 83). Physical blemishes disqualified the priest from serving in the Temple, Bek. VII, 1. RaMBaM also gives the reason that people will stare at a priest who has physical blemishes, a reason which is given in the Tosefta (cf. Krauss, SA, 21). And an intoxicated person etc., Taan. 26 b. For this precept RaMBaM gives the reason that the priestly blessing is analogous to the Temple service (RaMBaM, HT, XV, 4). A priest should "drink no wine nor strong drink", Lev.

R. Elazar said: No priest who has committed manslaughter should lift up his hands, since it is written: *Your hands are full of blood.*

LXII. And our teachers taught: The priests are not permitted to go to the stage with their sandals. And this is one of the nine ordinances that Rabban Jochanan b. Zaccai established. Abbaye said: We hold a tradition that he calls upon two [by saying the word] "priests", but not upon one, since it is said: "Speak to them", i. e. to two and not to one. And so is the Halacha. And R. Joshua b. Levi said: Whence is it proven that the Holy One, blessed be He, desires the priestly blessing? It is said: *And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.* And R. Joshua b. Levi said: A priest who blesses is blessed, and one who does not bless is not blessed, since it is said: *I will bless them that bless thee.* And R. Joshua b. Levi said: A priest who does not go up to the stage transgresses three positive commandments, since it is said: *On this wise ye shall bless, Speak to them, They shall put my name.* And R. Joshua b. Levi said: A priest who has not washed his hands should not lift up his hands, since it is written: *Lift up*

10:9 (cf. Krauss, SA, 101). **R. Elazar** said etc., Ber. 32 b. Two sorts of transgression disqualify a priest from performing the blessing: manslaughter and idolatry (RaMBaM, HT, XV, 3). A priest who had worshipped idols was forbidden to serve in the Temple, Men. 109 a, "and the [Priestly] blessing is like the [Temple] service" (RaMBaM, ibid.). **Your hands** etc., Is. 1:15.

LXII. And our teachers taught, R. H. 31 b; Sota 40 a. to the stage: the priestly blessing is pronounced from a tribune (*dukan*) (cf. Elb. 68, 473; Krauss SA, 393 seq.). **with their sandals:** Sota 40 a gives two different explanations of this precept but it does not mention the most natural one: that the priests in the Temple were barefoot (cf. HDB, IV, 82). **Abbaye** said, Sota 38 a. that he calls etc. The *chazzan* calls upon the priests. This does not imply that he is superior to the priests. He asks them to recite the Priestly Blessing only because he introduces different acts of the service (cf. Krauss, SA, 123). **but not upon one:** if only one priest pronounces the blessing, he begins to recite it without being summoned, RaMBaM, HT, XIV, 8. **And R. Joshua b. Levi** etc., Sota 38 b. **And they shall put my name** etc., Numb. 6:27. **I will bless them** etc., Gen. 12:3. **A priest who does not go up** etc. Although he has neglected to fulfil only one affirmative precept, he is accounted as having transgressed three affirmative precepts, for it is said: *On this wise ye shall bless, Speak to them, They shall put my name* (Numb. 6:22—27), RaMBaM, HT, XV, 12. **A priest who has not washed his hands** etc., Sota 39 a. A priest who has not washed his hands should not raise his hands [in the priestly blessing]. But he should wash his hands in water as far as to the wrists,

holy hands and bless JHWH. How runs the *beraka*? R. Zera said in the name of R. Chisda:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and commanded us to bless thy people Israel in love.

When he moves his feet to go down, what does he say?

May it be thy will, JHWH, our God, that this blessing that thou hast commanded us may be an atonement for us, and may there not be in it hindrance and sin now and for ever.

And when he turns his face away from the congregation, what does he say? R. Chisda took R. Uqba for a walk and expounded:

Lord of the universe, we have done what thou hast commanded us to do. Do with us what thou hast promised us. Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, etc.

R. Chisda said: The priests are not permitted to bend the joints of their fingers until they turn their faces away from the congregation. And R. Chisda said: The *sheliach sibbur* is not permitted to call: "Priests" until the sound

just as they [i.e. the priests] sanctified themselves for the Temple service, and then he recites the blessing, as it is said: *Lift up your hands to the sanctuary* (Ps. 134:2) (RaMBaM, HT, XV, 5). R. Zera said, Sota 39 a. Blessed be etc. In our edd. of the Talmud the *beraka* runs thus: [Blessed be . . .] who hast bestowed upon us the sanctification of Aaron and commanded us to bless thy people Israel in love. (Sa., 95; RaMBaM, HT, XIV, 12, and Baer, 359, have the same wording as TB.) This *beraka* should be recited by the priest before he turns his face towards the people to bless them (RaMBaM, XIV, HT, 12). When he moves his feet to go down, i.e. to the platform. (The word *lemechot* is missing in our edd. of the Talmud but it is found in all MSS. of Amr. It does not seem to be an apt word here, as the platform is a structure upon which the priests go up, cf. the initial words of this chapter. Perhaps *lemechot* here could be explained as being derived from the expression "to go down before the prayer desk", cf. Elb. 27). May it be thy will etc. This *beraka* should be recited by every priest proceeding to the platform, as soon as he starts (RaMBaM, XIV, HT, 12). may be an atonement for us: these words are missing in our edd. of the Talmud. And when he turns his face etc., after having concluded the blessing. R. Chisda said: Sota 39 b. not permitted to bend the joints of their fingers etc. This implies that the priests when reciting the blessing should have their fingers straightened and their faces turned toward the congregation (cf. RaMBaM, HT, XIV, 3). until the sound of

of the congregation's "Amen" has ceased, and the priests are not permitted to begin the *beraka* until the sound of the prompter's word has ceased. And the congregation is not permitted to respond "Amen" till the sound of blessing of the priests has ceased, and the priests are not permitted to turn their faces away from the congregation till the *sheliach sibbur* begins [the paragraph commencing] "Grant peace". And R. Zera said, in the name of R. Chisda: The priests are not permitted to move their feet and walk until the *sheliach sibbur* has concluded [the paragraph commencing] "Grant peace". And the priests are only permitted to lift up their hands on a level with their shoulders.

LXIII. And a person who has had a dream and does not know what he saw [in the dream] should rise before the priests and say:

Lord of the universe, I am thine and my dreams are thine. I have dreamt a dream and do not know what it is. Whether I have dreamt about myself or others have dreamt about me, if they are good [dreams], strengthen them and reinforce them like the dreams of Joseph, and if they need a remedy, heal them, as the waters of Marah were healed by Moses, and as the waters of Jericho by Elisha, and as Miriam was healed of her leprosy and as Naaman of his leprosy, and as Hezekiah of his sickness. And as thou didst turn the curse of Balaam, son of Beor, from bad to good, so turn all my dreams into good and receive me favourably.

And he should concentrate his mind along with the priests so that the congregation may answer "Amen". But if he is not able to do this, he should say:

the congregation's "Amen" has ceased: the "Amen" following the recital of the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*. are not permitted to begin the *beraka*: the introductory *beraka* "... who hast sanctified" etc. (cf. RaMBaM, HT, XIV, 5). the prompter's word: the word "Priests". to turn their faces from the congregation, after the recital of the priestly blessing. to move their feet and walk: walk down from the stage. "Grant peace", the last paragraph of the *Tefilla*. only on a level with their shoulders: cf. Sota VII, 6: "... in the provinces the priests raised their hands as high as their shoulders, but in the Temple above their heads."

LXIII. And a person who has had a dream etc. The Talmud holds that dreams "may be a medium by which the supernatural world is revealed to man", cf. e.g. Ber. 10 b; 14 a; 55 a, b. Great importance is also attached to the interpretation of dreams, cf. e.g. Ber. 55 b. Lord of the universe etc., Ber. 55 b. the dreams of Josef, Gen. 37:5—9. the waters of Marah, Ex. 15:23—25. by Elisha, 2 Kings 2:21, 22. as Miriam, Numb. 12:10 seqq. and as Naaman: 2 Kings 5:14. and as Hezekiah, 2 Kings

Thou art majestic on high, who abidest in might, thou art peace and thy name is peace. May it be thy will to bestow good on us.

LXIV. But if no priests are present the *sheliach sibbur* says:

Our God and God of our fathers! Bless us with the threefold blessing of [thy] Torah which is written by the hand of thy servant Moses which was spoken by Aaron and his sons, the priests of thy people, as it is said: *JHWH bless thee, and keep thee : JHWH make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee : JHWH turn his face unto thee, and give thee peace. So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.*

And he concludes till [he comes to the end of the passage closing with the words] "who maketh peace".

20:7. the curse of Balaam, Numb. 22—24. if he is not able to do this, i. e. he is unable to finish with the priests.

LXIV. But if no priests are present etc. The priestly blessing in the synagogue is the prerogative of those claiming priestly descent. Therefore, if no priest is present in the service, the priestly blessing is not recited. Instead of it the following prayer is said where also the words of the priestly blessing are included (cf. RaMBaM, HT, XV, 10). **and God of our fathers:** he mentions the merits of the patriarchs because they are three, as the priestly blessing is threefold (Abudr. 35 b). "**who maketh peace**": end of the nineteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*.

The Tachanunim.

LXV. And the congregation falls upon their faces and prays for mercy and every individual recites his prayer and says:

Lord of all worlds and Lord of lords, God, great, mighty and fearful, have mercy upon us for we are thy servants, the work of thy hands, flesh, dust and worms we are. What are we? What is our life? What is our piety? What

LXV. The chapters LV—LIX contain the *Tachanunim*, supplications, cf. Elb. 73—81. This element of the synagogue service also originates from the Temple service, as is indicated by the term *nefilat appaiim*, falling upon one's face, Elb. 73. Elb. points out that the oldest name of the *Tachanunim* is found in Tos. Ber. III, 6, p. 6, where we read: "They do not utter any word after 'True and firm' but they say words after the *Tefilla*, even the confession of sin of the day of atonement." "Words" here means a private prayer, said after the *Tefilla*. This notice indicates at least four facts: 1) As early as in Tannaitic times prayers used to be recited after the *Tefilla*, 2) these prayers were in the hands of the individual, and were consequently private prayers, 3) as these prayers might include the confession of sin of the day of atonement they could be lengthy, 4) as indicated by mentioning this example, confession of sin used to be a part of these prayers.

As these private prayers are spoken of as a part of the synagogue service in Tannaitic times, this element of the service certainly existed at the time of Christ.

Elbogen thinks that these prayers were formed freely by the individual. "In the end of the service everybody was given an opportunity to pour out his heart and without any constraint converse with his God", Elb. 73 seq. "The contents of the prayers was not fixed, as they were altogether of an individual character. It was as manifold as the talent and the capability of expression, as varying as the sentiments and the needs of the men", Elb. 74 seq. Thus according to Elbogen the prayers were formulated to fit the circumstances of each. But he gives no evidence in support of his statement. He only refers to prayers formulated by different scholars, Elb. 75 seqq. It seems too improbable that each individual should have formed prayers of his own. Since it is such an important thing to use the right words in one's prayer, surely only scholars, and not men in general could form prayers of their own.

All the prayers used in the *Tachanunim* express the sinfulness and miserable state of man, cf. Elb. 75. Lord of all worlds etc., cf. Joma 87 b. What are we etc., cf. above,

is our righteousness? What shall we say before thee, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers? Are not all mighty men as nought before thee, the men of renown as though they had not been, and the wise as without knowledge, and the men of understanding as without discernment. For all our works are void and emptiness, and the days of our life are vanity before thee. What shall we say before thee, JHWH, our God, for we have sinned and transgressed and we have no strength to do our duties, and we have no high priest to atone for our sins, and no altar wherein to offer sacrifice, and no Holy of Holies wherein to pray but may it be thy will that our prayer which we pray be acceptable, and let it be reckoned before thee as bullocks and sheep, as if we sacrificed them on the altar, and pardon us.

Lord of all worlds, it is revealed and known to thee that it is my will to do thy will but the yeast which is in the dough prevents it. May it be thy will, JHWH, our God, to destroy and humble and keep distant from me the evil inclination, to humble it and subdue it and keep it far from my two hundred and forty eight limbs, and do not cause me to stumble from thy good ways, but give in my heart the good inclination, and [give] a good companion, to keep thy commandments and to serve thee and to do thy will with all my heart.

Lord of all worlds, may it be thy will that thy Torah be my occupation and my work for every day and that I may not err in it, and cause me not to need a gift of a mortal man, for their gift is small but the shame they bring us is great. Satisfy us in the morning with thy grace that we may rejoice and be glad all our days, and show us thy mercy, JHWH, and give us thy salvation.

Sovereign of all worlds and Lord of lords, help me, support me, aid me, strengthen me by providing for me and by providing for those in my house. Let me not be put to shame or disgrace before thee and before mortal men. JHWH hear, JHWH forgive, JHWH, listen and do and tarry not, for thy sake, my God, for thy name is called upon thy city and upon thy people.

But if there is anyone who wishes to say that [which is ordained by] R. Yannai: When a man awakens from his sleep he may say:

Sovereign of the world, I have sinned before thee. May it be thy will, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, that thou give us a good heart, a good portion, a humble spirit, a humble soul and a good companion, and let

ch. VII. Lord of all worlds, it is revealed etc., cf. the prayer of R. Alexandri, Ber. 17 a. but the yeast, i. e. the evil inclination. Lord of all worlds, may it be etc., cf. the prayer of R. Chiyya, Ber. 16 b. But if there is anyone etc. The following prayer occurs in PT Ber. IV, 2. In PT this prayer begins: "Blessed be thou, JHWH, who quickenest the dead." There are many other differences between the wording of this

thy name not be profaned among us, and let us not be disgraced in the mouth of all men, and make us not a curse before all men, and may our end not be destruction and our hope not be despair, and cause us not to need the gifts of mortal men, and let not our nourishment be dependant upon mortal men, for their gift is small but the shame they cause us is great. And give our portion in thy Torah with those who do thy will. And build up thy house and thy city and thy temple and thy sanctuary, soon and in our days. Speedily answer us and redeem us from all hard decrees, and help in thy great mercy thy righteous anointed one and thy people.

And the *chazzan* stands and says:

Our Father, our King, be gracious unto us and answer us. We have no [good] works, deal with us in righteousness and save us for thy name's sake. And we know not what to do, but our eyes are upon thee.

And the congregation responds to what he says:

Remember thy mercy, JHWH, and thy grace for they are from eternity. Let thy grace, JHWH, be upon us, according as we hope in thee. Remember not against us the iniquities of our ancestors. Let thy mercies speedily meet us, for we are brought very low. Deal [with us] for thy great, mighty and fearful name's sake by which we are called. Be gracious unto us, JHWH, be gracious, for we are sated to the full with contempt. In wrath remember to be merciful. Save, JHWH, let the King answer us in the day that we call. For he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust. Help us, God of our salvation, for the sake of the glory of thy name, and deliver us, and pardon our sins, for thy name's sake.

prayer in Amr. and in PT, cf. Ginzberg: PT, III, 228. and let not our nourishment etc., cf. the Grace after meals, below, ch. LXXVIII. A parallel to this expression is found in Ecclius. 20:15. Our Father, our King: this clause also forms the conclusion of the prayer "Our Father, our King" which is recited on the ten days of penitence, cf. Singer, 57. And we know not etc., 2 Chron. 20:12. According to Tur, § 131, this verse is said for the following reason: Because we have prayed in every attitude which a man could occupy when praying: sitting [when reciting the *Shema*], standing [in the *Tefilla*] and falling upon our faces [in the *Tachanunim*], as our teacher Moses did, as it is written: "I abode in the mount" (Deut. 9:9), "I stayed in the mount" (Deut. 10:10) and "I fall down before JHWH" (Deut. 9:18), and since we have not strength to pray in another attitude we say: And we do not know etc. Remember thy mercy etc., Ps. 33:22. Let thy grace etc., Ps. 79:8. Be gracious unto us etc., Ps. 123:3. Save, JHWH etc., Ps. 20:10. For he knoweth etc., Ps. 103:14. says Kaddish to "high above

And the *sheliach sibbur* says Kaddish to "high above", and the *sheliach sibbur* begins:

Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will be still praising thee. Selah.

And the congregation repeats the whole "Blessed" as we have written above to *My mouth shall speak the praise of JHWH*.

And a redeemer shall come to Zion and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith JHWH. And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith JHWH; my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in

i. e. "Half-Kaddish" which indicates that this part of the service is finished, cf. Elb. 79. Then follows the 'ashre, cf. above, ch. X. And a redeemer shall come etc. The *Qedusha de sidra*, Elb. 61 ff, 79 f. It is referred to in Sota 49 a. Ri. (a.l.) explains the term *Qedusha de sidra* to mean "the *Qedusha* recited after the lesson for the day". Lectures were held in connection with the morning service, and after them some verses from the prophets were recited, and in conclusion the *Qedusha* with targum, Elb. 79. It is composed of the following Scriptural verses: Is. 59:20, 21; Ps. 22:4; Is. 6:3; Ez. 3:12; Ex. 15:18; 1 Chron. 29:18; Ps. 78:38; 86:5; 119:142; Micah 7:20; Ps. 68:20; 46:8; 84:13; 20:10. Then follows a non-biblical passage beginning with "Blessed" and closing with "the life of the world to come". Finally Ps. 30:13 is added.

Leibreich has given a detailed analysis of the *Qedusha de sidra* (Leibreich: An analysis of U-BA LE ZIYYON in the liturgy [HUCA, XXI, pp. 176—209]). He points out that *Qedusha de sidra* consists of five parts: 1) The *Qedusha*, verses praising God's holiness: Is. 6:3; Ez. 3:12 and Ex. 15:18 (with the Targum Onkelos). "The *Qedusha de sidra*... had its origin in the custom of reading from the Prophets after Tahanun of the daily morning service and before the Sabbath afternoon service. It was recited after the conclusion of these prophetic readings and, in some quarters, together with Is. 59:20, 21 preceding, also after a period of study following the Sabbath morning service" (Leibreich, ibid., 203). 2) The preceding verses: Is. 59:20, 21 and Ps. 22:4. "The purpose of reading from the Prophets after Tahanun of the daily morning service and before the Sabbath afternoon service was to afford consolation to the worshipper by means of passages from the Prophets (particularly from the Latter Prophets) to which a Messianic interpretation was attached. That this must have been the purpose may be gathered from the traces found of the practice of reading from the prophets on Sabbath afternoon in the Italian rite ..." (Leibreich, ibid., 204). Is. 59:20 is interpreted to convey the thought that repentance is the pre-requisite for the redemption (Joma 86 b). And "the selection of Ps. 22:4 and its position immediately preceding the *Kedusha de Sidra* must have been felt to be doubly appropriate. In the first place, containing as it does the words 'and thou art holy', it is in harmony with the theme of the *Kedusha de Sidra* which includes the Trisagion. In the second place, in the readings from the

thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith JHWH, from henceforth and for ever. But thou art holy, thou that dwellest amid the praises of Israel. And one cried unto another, and said: *Holy, holy, holy is JHWH of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.* And they receive sanction the one from the other, and say: Holy in heaven on high, the place of his Divine Presence, holy upon the earth, the work of his might, holy for ever and to all eternity is JHWH of hosts, the whole earth is full of the radiance of his glory. And then a wind lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing [saying]: *Blessed be the glory of JHWH from his place.* Then a wind lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing, of those who uttered praises, and said: Blessed be the glory of JHWH from the region of his Divine Presence. JHWH shall reign for ever and ever. The kingdom of JHWH [endureth] for ever and to all eternity. JHWH, the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever as the inward thought in the heart of thy people, and direct their heart unto thee. And he, being merciful, forgiveth iniquity and destroyeth not: yea, many a time he turneth his anger away, and doth not stir up all his wrath. For thou, JHWH, art good and forgiving, and abounding in mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and thy Torah is truth. Thou wilt show faithfulness to Jacob, and mercy to Abraham, as thou hast sworn

Prophets which preceded the Kedusha de-Sidra, David, or a descendant of David, was the central figure of the messianically interpreted prophetic utterances" (Leibreich, ibid., 205). 3) "The Lectionary", the Scripture verses linking the *Qedusha de sidra* to "the Benediction". Leibreich analyses these verses (ibid., 186—198) and concludes: "When the need arose to attach the Benediction, originally an independent liturgical composition, to *U-Ba Le Ziyyon*, and to make it an integral part thereof, a lectionary of biblical verses was required which should precede the Benediction. The verses included in the lectionary were not selected and arranged in a haphazard manner. Quite the contrary, they were chosen in accordance with a carefully worked-out plan. Though based on the principle of verbal tally, this plan, in its application, was not merely a superficial matching of words. Primarily, the fundamental aim was to link up, by means of the process of tallying the lectionary of verses with the Tahanun context, on the one hand, and with the Benediction on the other. It is by means of inner verbal connections that the lectionary and Benediction were made inseparable" (Leibreich, ibid., 197 f.). 4) The Benediction: It consists of three parts (cf. Leibreich, ibid., 182 f.)
 a) The first part has obviously taken over the passage "who hast given us the Torah of truth, and hast planted everlasting life in our midst" directly from the customary benediction after public reading of the Torah in the synagogue.
 b) The second part is a prayer to the effect that knowledge of the Torah might be conducive to the love and fear of God, to the performance of his will and to wholehearted service.
 c) The third part is a Messianic conclusion which opens with the words "May it be thy will" which

unto our fathers from days of old. Blessed be JHWH, day by day he beareth our burden, even the God who is our salvation and our help. Selah. JHWH of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our stronghold. Selah. JHWH of hosts, happy is the man who trusteth in thee. Save, JHWH, may the King answer us on the day when we call. Blessed be our God, who hath created us for his glory, and hath separated us from them that go astray, and hath given us the Torah of truth, planted everlasting life in our midst. May he open our heart unto his Torah and place his fear within our hearts, that we may do his will and serve him with a perfect heart, that we may not labour in vain, nor bring forth for confusion. May it thus be thy will, JHWH, our God and God of our fathers, that we may keep thy statutes in this world, and be worthy to live and to inherit the life of the world to come. So that my glory may sing praise to thee, and not be silent: JHWH, my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever.

And he says "Magnified" to "which are uttered in the world; and say ye, Amen". And he adds:

May the prayers and supplications of all Israel be accepted by their Father who is in heaven; and say ye, Amen. May there be abundant peace from heaven, and life for all Israel; and say ye, Amen.

He who maketh peace in his high places, may he make peace for all Israel.

And since the *sheliach sibbur* has concluded "He who maketh peace" they use to say the following:

constitute a typical introduction to a number of familiar prayers. For the second half of this messianic peroration there is a parallel in Grace after Meals. "Although composed of three separate parts, the Benediction must have contained them as a unit from the beginning, judging by the fact that they are invariably joined together in all extant rituals" (Leibreich, ibid., 184). As Leibreich observes the important biblical parallels to phrases in the Benediction are given by Abudarham: Is. 43:7 a; Lev. 20:32 b; Is. 29: 24 a (cf. Abudr. 37 B). 5) Vitry and the printed siddurim have a concluding passage, consisting of a couple of Scripture verses (cf. Leibreich, ibid., 198). Leibreich remarks that Amr. only has Ps. 30:13. This remark is correct concerning MSS. M and S but MS. O adds Ps. 19:15, a verse which does not occur in this connection in Vitry or in the printed siddurim.

And he says "Magnified" etc., i. e. Half-Kaddish. And he adds: the clauses which added to the Half-Kaddish make it "Full-Kaddish" but the responses of the congregation are not given here.

Who is like our God, who is like our Lord, who is like our King, who is like our Saviour? There is none like our God, none like our Lord, none like our King, none like our Saviour. Blessed be our God, blessed be our Lord, blessed be our King, blessed be our Saviour. We will give thanks unto our God, we will give thanks unto our Lord, we will give thanks unto our King, we will give thanks unto our Saviour. Thou art our God, thou art our Lord, thou art our King, thou art our Saviour. Thou art he unto whom our fathers burnt the incense of spices.

The compound forming the incense etc.

This was the singing which the levites used to sing in the Temple. On the first day they sang *The earth is JHWH's and all that therein is, the round world and they that dwell therein;* on the second day they sang *Great is JHWH and highly to be praised in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill;* on the third day they sang *God standeth in the congregation of God;* on the fourth day they sang *JHWH, God to whom vengeance belongeth, thou God to whom vengeance belongeth show thyself;* on the fifth day they sang *Sing we merrily unto God our strength, make a cheerful noise unto the God of Jacob;* on the sixth day they sang *JHWH is king, and hath put on glorious apparel.* On the Sabbath they sang *A Psalm: a Song for the Sabbath day;* a psalm for the time that is to come which shall be all Sabbath and rest in life everlasting.

Who is like our God, who is like our Lord etc., cf. Elb. 80. As appears from its conclusion this short hymn is an introduction to the Talmud passage that follows. It is "a very pretty short piece, standing half way between prose and poetry" (Dembitz, 221). It refers to Ex. 8:6. In printed siddurim (cf. Singer, 167) the first two sentences occur in reversed order so that the hymn begins "There is none" etc. This sequence is rather illogical (Abr. clxvi). "One expects the lines to run: *Who is like our God?* Certainly, *There is none like our God...* Therefore, *We will give thanks unto our God,* namely, by saying *Blessed be our God,* concluding with *Thou art our God*" (Abr., ibid.). Tur, § 133, quotes Amr. as beginning "There is none" etc. but this reading is found in no MS. of Amr. As Ri. (cf. Abr. clxvi) points out the initial letters and words form the acrostic *Amen, blessed be thou אָמֵן בָּרוּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ*, when the passage begins with "There is none" etc. This is undoubtedly the reason why the first two sentences have been put in reversed order. *unto whom our fathers burnt the incense of spices:* these words form the introduction to succeeding passage from the Talmud where the constituents of the incense are defined.

The compound forming the incense etc., Ker. 6 a, b. This was the singing etc., Tamid VII, 4. The psalms are 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92. These psalms must have obtained a place in the Temple service long before the time of Christ as can be seen from the superscriptions which—with the exception of the psalms for Tuesday and Thursday—they have in the LXXX. Ps. 24: "A psalm for David on the first day of the week" etc. In the Hebrew Bible only the last of these psalms has a superscription of this kind.

R. Eleazar said in the name of R. Chanina: The disciples of the sages increase peace in the world, as it is said: *And all thy children shall be taught of JHWH, and great shall be the peace of thy children. Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel.*

And from the Kaddish he reads to "which are uttered in the world; and say ye, Amen", "May there be abundant peace" to "He who maketh peace".

LXVI. And so in the evening after they have concluded the evening *Tefilla* they use to say "The compound forming the incense" but not the

Since these psalms were used in the Temple service from old times it is reasonable to assume that they were also used in the synagogue service at an early date. But not until the tractate Soferim (XVIII, 1) are we expressly told that it was customary to recite the daily psalm in the synagogue service. This recital is spoken of as a substitute for the sacrifices: he who recites a [Scripture] verse in its proper time it is reckoned unto him as if he had erected a new altar and sacrificed on it (Soferim, ibid.). "Die Lectüre der Opferparaschiot und der Verse, welche sonst im Tempel üblich waren, wird dem Opfer gleichgestellt" (Müller: Masechet Soferim, p. 251. Müller refers to Sanh. 101 a, Taan. 27 b). The Talmud explains that these psalms were recited in order to recall the events of the six days of creation, cf. R. H. 31 a (cf. also Bert. on Tamid VII, 4). But as Abr. says (xcv seq.) only Psalm 24 (for the first day) and Psalm 93 (for the sixth day) seem to be aptly chosen from this point of view. "It is not easy, however, to establish any obvious connection between the other psalms and the four intermediate days of creation" (Abr. xcvi). That the rabbis felt this, is clear from the fact that Bert. (on Tamid VII, 4) sometimes gives other explanations than those given in R. H. 31 a. He says for instance that Ps. 82 is said on the third day because on that day God made manifest the dry land on which the judges stand to judge.

R. Eleazar etc., Ber. 64 a. *And all thy children* etc., Ps. 54:13. TB adds: "Read not *banayik* [thy children] but *bonayik* [thy builders]." The verb *bana* is used metaphorically in the sense "to educate, train" (cf. Jastrow, s. v.). "Builders", then, in Ber. 64 a means "trainers". Yea, thou shalt etc., 128:6.

"*May there be abundant peace*" etc., i. e. the so-called Full-Kaddish, cf. Singer, 75 f. The closing paragraph "*May there be abundant peace*" seems to have grown up out of an original greeting of peace (Pool, 70). The verse "*He who maketh peace*" etc. is in substance superfluous after the preceding verse "*May there be abundant peace*". It "must have been added when the character of the latter as a prayer for peace was obscured by the addition of other words to *shelama*, in accordance with the desire to close with *shalom*" (Pool, 76).

LXVI. *And so in the evening* etc. Thus the passage on the incense is recited both in the morning service and in the evening service. but not the psalm: Tamid VII, 4 is

psalm. What is the reason? [The reason is] that one says them remembering the Temple. And why do they say "The compound forming the incense" in the morning and in the evening but the psalm only in the morning? Because there is a command that it should be in the morning and in the evening but the psalm only in the morning.

LXVII. And a man ought not to neglect or to omit [anything] from the *Qedusha de sidra* or from the *Kaddish* of the lectures since it is an important thing before the Holy One, blessed be He. And why is it important? Because the Mishna teaches that R. Simeon b. Gamliel said, in the name of R. Joshua: Since the day that the Temple was destroyed there has been no day without its curse; and the dew has not fallen in blessing and the fruits have lost their savour. R. Jose says: The fruits have also lost their fatness. And Raba said: The curse of every day is greater than that of the preceding one, for it is written: *In the morning you shall say: Would God it were evening, and in the evening you shall say: Would God it were morning.* Which morning? If it is the morning of the following day, who knows what will come, but of the preceding [day one knows]. But by what is the world maintained? By the *Qedusha de sidra* and the *Kaddish* after the lectures, as it is written: *A land of thick darkness, as darkness itself; a land of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.* The reason is

recited only in the morning service. one says them remembering the Temple: After the destruction of the Temple some of the usages in the Temple service were introduced in the synagogue service "in memory of the Temple" (i. e. of the Temple usages), cf. Succa III, 12; R. H. IV, 3. Thus Tamid VII, 4 was recited in the synagogue service in memory of the singing of the levites in the Temple. **Because there is a command etc.** Tamid VII does not mention that the singing was performed only in the morning. But Amr. presupposes that there is such a command in the Talmud. The present writer is not able to discover the passage to which Amr. refers (SA § 132:2 [the gloss] prescribes that Tamid VII, 4 should be recited only in the morning service; but the commentaries on this passage of SA give no Talmudic reference).

LXVII. This chapter stresses the importance of the correct recital of the *Qedusha de sidra* and the *Kaddish* after the lectures. **Because the Mishna teaches:** Sota IX, 12. **And Raba said:** Sota 49 a. it is written: Deut. 28:67. by what is the word maintained, since the curse is so strong. by the *Qedusha de sidra*, which is arranged in order that Israel should study something in the Torah every day as the recital of this passage is considered to be a substitute for the study of the Torah (cf. Ri. a.l.). Neglect of the study of the Torah was the reason for the destruction of Jerusalem (Ginzberg:)

that there is no order but where there is order [the earth] will come forth bright out of the darkness. And what is the order? It is the *Qedusha de sidra*.

LXVIII. And they asked before R. Zemach, president of the academies, Gaon of the academy of Pumbeditha: Should the individual recite the *Qedusha de sidra* if he does not read [it as] Scripture? What is the reason? And he answered thus: If he is a scholar shall he study the tradition about the sinew of the thigh, e. g. [when] about three parties of the ministering angels who sing the daily song, because there are in it words of praise of the Holy One, blessed be He. If a person is not a scholar shall he study Scriptural passages where there is praise of the holiness of God, e. g. *above him stood the seraphim*. And what is the reason of the scholar who says so and praises so? He implies that the early prophets and the ancient elders ordained that

Legends, VI, 388). A land etc., Job 10:22. if there is order, i. e. regular homilies (cf. Jastrow, 959 A).

LXVIII. R. Zemach, R. Zemach b. Mar Paltoi, gaon in Pumbeditha 872—890, cf. JE, V, 571. The question discussed in this chapter is this if the individual may recite *Qedusha de sidra*, if he does not read [it as] Scripture: *qara* means especially "to read from the Torah at public services" (Jastrow, s. v.). The Torah and the lesson from the prophets were read in the synagogue service in a given cantillation, cf. Dembitz, 308 ff.; Elb. 503 f. Thus R. Zemach was asked whether the individual is permitted to recite the *Qedusha de sidra* if he does not recite it in the same way as the Torah is read in the synagogue, i. e. with melody.

Vitry (§ 46) reads: ". . . if he reads [it as] Scripture." But Rashi (§ 61) reads as Amr. R. Zemach's responsum is found too in *Tur* (§ 132), in a diverging version: "R. Zemach wrote that the individual should not recite the order of the *Qedusha*, since no word in the *Qedusha* should be said if there are not ten men present . . ."

According to Amram's version R. Zemach answered that the individual should not recite the *Qedusha de sidra*. If he is a scholar he should instead of the *Qedusha de sidra* read a passage from the Talmud where the Trishagion is found. If he is an unlearned man he should read such a passage from the Bible.

the sinew of the thigh, Chullin VII. **above him stood the seraphim**, Is. 6:2. **and praises so**. Instead of *mode* (praises) we would have expected *more* (teaches), but all MSS. of Amr. read *mode*. This is also the reading of Vitry (§ 46), but Rashi (§ 61) reads *qore*. Although the reading *mode* seems strange it may be original, since it occurs in all MSS. and in Vitry. It may due to an error committed by the scribe employed

it should be said in the congregation, and the individual should not remove the landmark of the congregation, because no word of sanctification [should be recited] if there are not at least ten [men present]. Therefore one may read the Scripture or the Talmud, as we have explained, and be found saying it of itself. And there are scholars who say: Because they are Scripture passages he may say them. But it is of no importance. Therefore they practice that the individual who says the *Kedusha de sidra* reads the verses with their accents in the same way as children read before their teacher.

LXIX. And for the sake of men who come into the synagogue after the *sheliach sibbur* has said "Bless ye JHWH", they asked before the academy: Should the *sheliach sibbur* repeat "Bless ye JHWH" in the time when the congregation is standing, in order that the men who came between the sections or between the *Geulla* and the *Tefilla* of the morning service, or between "the king in his glory" and the *Tefilla* of the evening service, should answer: "Blessed is JHWH who is to be blessed"? And they decided as follows: We see it so, that in the *Tefilla* of the evening service, if he desires he may say "Bless" for the sake of those who come between the sections. But in the morning service it is forbidden to interrupt between the *Geulla* and the *Tefilla*. One should not interrupt since it is taught in the following way in the Mishna: R. Judah says: There may be no interruption between *And [JHWH] spake* and "True and firm". R. Abbahu said, in the name of R. Jochanan: The Halacha follows R. Judah. And it is necessary to combine the *Geulla* with the *Tefilla* since we read in the Talmud: The *Tefilla* should be

by the author. and the individual should not etc., cf. Deut. 19:14; 27:17. But there are scholars etc. These scholars think that the individual is permitted to recite the *Qedusha de sidra* with melody, since the children in the school read Scripture with melody.

LXIX. "Bless ye JHWH", the invocation to prayer introducing the *Shema*, cf. above, ch. XVII (end). between the sections: the Scriptural sections recited in the *Shema* (cf. above, ch. XXI. "the king in his glory", the second *beraka* after the *Shema* of the evening service, cf. below, ch. XLI. in the evening service etc., as the *Tefilla* of the evening is optional, cf. RaMBaM, HT, IX, 9. But in the morning service it is forbidden, as the *Tefilla* of the morning service is obligatory and not optional.

joined immediately to the *Geulla*, and it is forbidden to interrupt between them even by words of sanctification or even by an appeasing verse or by a prayer. And that they commence with the verse *JHWH open my lips* that is because the rabbis have ordained that it should be said in the *Tefilla* like a prolonged *Tefilla*. And they depart everyone to his house.

in the Mishna, Ber. II, 2. since we read in the Talmud, cf. Ber. 4 b, 9 b. a prolonged *Tefilla*: the verse "JHWH open my lips", introductory to the *Tefilla*, might be regarded as an interruption but the rabbis have ordained that it should be said as a continued *Tefilla*, i. e. as being a part of the *Tefilla*.

Coming late to the morning service was a source of disturbance which it was hard to remove, as no food might be eaten in the morning until after the morning prayer, and many must perform pray at home and breakfast before going to synagogue. "In the synagogue, on the other hand, the service could not be begun late, because the rubrics required that the chief part of the prayer be recited within three hours after early dawn. Late arrival was thus so far a necessity that a special chapter in the code-book provides for the case" (Abrahams: Jewish life in the Middle Ages, 34).

Abraham's reference to "the code-book" is to SA, § 52 where detailed prescriptions are given concerning those who come too late.

Grace before and after Meals.

LXX. And when anyone wishes to eat bread he should first wash his

LXX—LXXXIII. The chapters LXX—LXXXIII contain rules for meals, cf. RaMBaM, HB, I—X; SA § 157—201. The practice of reciting grace before and after meals existed among the Jews long before the time of Christ, as appears from the Letter of Aristeas and from Philo (cf. UJE, V, 75). In the Mishna this custom and the different *berakot* used in this connection are spoken of as well known and very important. The discussion between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai, Ber. VIII, only refers to details in the usages.

The command to recite the Grace after meals is regarded to be Scriptural. The Talmud finds this command in Deut. 8:10, cf. Ber. 48 b. There it is also stated that Moses instituted the benediction "Who feeds", Joshua the benediction of the land (i. e. the second benediction) and David and Solomon instituted the third benediction. This of course implies that these benedictions had been in use "too long to remember their origin" (Dembitz, 435).

There are, however, four benedictions after the meal, cf. Ber. 48 b. But the Mishna presupposes that they are three, Ber. VI, 8. The fourth ("Who is good and bestows good") is said to have been composed on the day on which permission was given to bury those slain in Bethar (the scene of the last stand of the Bar Kochba wars, 135 A. D.).

Among the literature on the Grace after meals a paper by Louis Finkelstein: *The Birkat Ha-Mazon* (JQR, N.S., XIX, 1928—1929, p. 211—262) is especially important. He stresses the importance of the *Birkat ha-mazon*: "In the liturgical service of the Jewish home it occupies much the same outstanding position that the *Amidah* holds in the synagogue service. Together these prayers helped to make possible the continuance of a full and complete Jewish life after the destruction of Jerusalem" (*ibid.*, 212). Then he goes on to try to fix the original texts and the dates of the four benedictions here in question.

As regards the dates of the three first benedictions Finkelstein arrives at the conclusion that the third was composed in the second century B.C. and that it cannot be ascertained whether the first and the second were formulated at the same time as the third or earlier (Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 220 seq.). In any case they existed long before the time of Christ. But certainly they then had a briefer form than that which they have had in later times (Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 223 seq.).

LXX. And when one wants to eat bread etc. The essential part of the meal of the ordinary man was bread (cf. Krauss, TA, III, 31). "The principal constituent of every

hands and afterwards have his meal, even if he eats profane food. And if anybody disregards the washing of hands he is liable to excommunication, since we read: Far be it from us to think that Aqabiah [b. Mahalel] was excommunicated, for the doors of the Temple hall did not close on any man in Israel the equal of Aqabiah b. Mahalel in wisdom, in purity and in fear of sin. Whom did they in fact excommunicate? It was Eleazar b. Hagar, who contested [the rabbinical regulations] concerning the washing of hands and when he died in his excommunication the Beth din had a stone placed on his coffin, to teach you that if a man is excommunicated and dies in his excommunication, the Beth din stones his coffin.

And if anybody disregards the washing of hands he comes into poverty since R. Ammi said, and some say that it is said in a Baraita: Three things bring a man into poverty, and these are: if he urinates naked before his bed, if he disregards the washing of hands and if his wife curses him to his face. If he disregards the washing of hands, it is not so we read, but: if he at times washes [his hands] and at times does not

meal was bread, which was regarded, indeed, as the meal itself. So much was this the case, that the word 'bread' was used by the ancient Hebrews either for bread in particular or food in general. It was over the bread that the blessing was pronounced which was supposed to have been spoken over all the rest of the solid food eaten during the first part of the meal" (DCG, II, 151). he should first wash his hands: as Cohen points out (UJE, I, 26) the earliest reference to washing of hands before meals occurs in the NT (Matt. 15:2; Mark 7:2—4; Luke 11:38). From these passages it appears that this custom, though it originated with the Pharisees, had become general among the Jews (cf. Gould: A critical and exegetical commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark, p. 126). As regards the rules for washing of hands before meals, cf. RaMBaM, HB, VI; SA § 158—164. "He who eats [the kind of] bread, for which the *beraka* is 'who bringest forth [bread from the earth]' must wash his hands before and after, even if it is unconsecrated bread. And even if his hands are free from dirt and he is not aware of any uncleanness attaching to them, he should not eat until he has washed his hands" (RaMBaM, HB, VI, 1). although he eats profane food i. e. not sacrifices where the priests have to wash their hands, cf. e. g. Chullin 106 a, b. It seems probable that the ablution before meals arose in imitation of that of the priests before partaking of the sacrifices and the heave-offerings, cf. UJE, I, 26; Th. W., IV, 946. he is liable to excommunication: in the Talmudic times there were three different degrees of excommunication. *Nidduj* is temporary exclusion. Cf. Krauss: Excommunication (UJE, IV, 205 seq.). **Aqabiah b. Mahalel**, a Tanna of the first generation (Strack, 120), thus a contemporary of Christ. He is spoken of as a noble character with unyielding principles, Ed. V, 6, 7. who contested etc., Ed., V, 6; Ber. 19 a. since R. Ammi said, Sabb. 62 b

wash them. But if he washes [his hands] defectively, there is no objection. And R. Zeriqa said, in the name of R. Eleazar: If anyone disregards the washing of hands he is eradicated from the world.

LXXI. And when he has washed his hands he must dry his hands. It is correct, since R. Abbahu says: If anybody eats bread without drying his hands, he is like one who eats unclean bread, since it is said: *And JHWH said: Even thus shall the children of Israel eat their bread unclean.* And R. Chisda said: I wash [the hands] by handfuls, and they give me good by handfuls.

LXXII. And when he is going to wash his hands he recites the *beraka*:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, King of the universe, who hast sanctified by thy commandments and given us command concerning the washing of the hands.

And if anybody drinks water with his meal, even if he drinks twice or thrice, he must recite the *beraka* for every time, although it is before him, since we read in the Mishna: If he drank water to quench his thirst he should

where some hold that the following is said in a Baraita. But if he washes . . . defectively, i. e. only using a little water (cf. Ri. a. l.). And R. Zeriqa etc., Sota 4 b. If anyone disregards etc., i. e. who always eats without washing his hands (Ri. a. l.); is eradicated etc., since one who transgresses the words of the sages is liable to death, as it is written (Eccl. 10:8): *Whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him* (Ri. a. l.).

As occurs from these Talmudic dicta the washing of hands before meals is considered to be very important. The reason is that the hands are peculiarly liable to be defiled; and as unclean hands were held to communicate uncleanness to all food which they touched, it was deemed necessary to wash the hands ceremonially before every meal.

LXXI. since R. Abbahu says: Sota 4 b. one who eats unclean bread, i. e. bread leitically impure. Even thus etc., Ez. 4:13. And R. Chisda said: Sabb. 62 b. and they, i. e. God.

LXXII. And when he is going to wash etc. The *beraka* must be recited before the washing of hands, cf. SA § 158:11. The reason is that a *beraka* referring to religious duty must be recited before the act to which it refers, cf. Pes. 7 b; 119 b etc. "There is only one religious duty where they recite the *beraka* after the fulfilling of it, namely the immersion of a proselyte for he could not [previously to the act] say: 'Who hast sanctified us with thy commandments and commanded us', as he was neither sanctified nor commanded till he had taken the ritual immersion" (RaMBaM, HB, XI, 7). Blessed be thou etc. Cf. above, ch. I. we read in the Mishna, Ber. VI, 8.

say: [Blessed be thou . . .] by whose word all things exist. And we read in the Talmud: What does this exclude? R. Idi b. Abin said: It excludes one who is choked by a piece of meat [and drinks] without having recited a *beraka*. This case [when he drinks without reciting a *beraka*] cannot be compared to that when he [could] say a *beraka* and could take council with himself. And there are some scholars who say: When there is water before him at the meal and he recites the *beraka* once, he need not to recite the *beraka* every time [he drinks] because it is analogous to wine, for when he has recited the *beraka* over it the first time he need not recite the *beraka* over it again.

LXXIII. And when anyone drinks he first recites the *beraka*:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, by whose word all things exist.

And afterwards he recites the *beraka*:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe who createst many living beings and their wants, for all that which thou hast created [thou art] the life of the worlds.

But if anybody is choked by a piece of meat we read in the Talmud that he ought not to recite the *beraka*. R. Paltoi b. Abbaye, president of the academy, decided thus: Before he drinks it is not necessary to recite the *beraka* [by whose words] "all things", because he is the victim of an accident. After he has drunk he should recite the *beraka* "who createst many living beings".

we read in the Talmud, Ber. 44 b. who is choked, and drinks to wash it down but he has no enjoyment from it (cf. Tosaf. a.l.). because it is analogous to wine, when drinking wine the *beraka* for wine should not be repeated every time, Pes. 101 b, 103 a (cf. RaMBaM, HB, IV, 8, 9).

LXXIII. And when anyone drinks etc. The following two *berakot* occur in Ber. VI, 3, 6. "... by whose word all things exist" should be said over aught that does not grow from the earth, Ber. VI, 3. Baer remarks that the verbal form used in this *beraka* is a participle (nif. part.) which is characteristic for all *berakot* for enjoyments "because we thank that He, the Holy One, blessed be He, always and in every time bestows good upon us" (Baer, 567). But if anyone is choked etc. Cf. above, ch. LXXII. R. Paltoi b. Abbaye, gaon in Pumbeditha 842—858, cf. JE, V, 571; Weiss, 129 ff. And

And with reference to what we read in the Talmud that it is not necessary to recite the first *beraka*, that is not because a man is forbidden to enjoy anything of this world without a *beraka*, but it is analogous to medicine. For a person who drinks medicine or who eats something for medicinal purposes and does not direct his mind on the eating should not recite a *beraka* before it or after it. And so after every food eat salt, and after every beverage drink water, and you will never come to harm. And he need not say a *beraka* before it and after it, since the rabbis said: If one ate any kind of food without taking salt after it, or drank any kind of drink without taking water after it, he will be troubled with an evil-smelling mouth by day, and with an evil-smelling mouth and with croup by night.—For if he cannot eat or drink, he is in danger. He uses it for medicinal purpose, therefore he need not say a *beraka* before it or after it.

LXXIV. And after the meal he should wash his hands but he need not to recite a *beraka* since R. Idi bar Abin said, in the name of R. Isaac bar Ashyan: The washing before the meal is obligatory and requires a *beraka*, but the washing after the meal is duty and does not require a *beraka*, and if anybody recites a *beraka*, he mentions the name of God in vain. R. Chiyya bar Ashshe said, in the name of Rab: In the washing before a meal a man should lift up his hands on high, in the washing after the meal he should lower his hands downward lest the water may come over the joint and

... what we read in the Talmud, cf. above, ch. LXXII. because a man is forbidden etc. "To enjoy anything of this world without a *beraka* is like making personal use of things consecrated to heaven, since it says: *The earth is JHWH's and the fulness thereof* (Ps. 24:1)", Ber. 35 a. "Dem liegt die grossgedachte Vorstellung zugrunde, dass diese ganze Welt Gott zu eigen gehört. Nur wer dankend etwas davon für sich nimmt, empfängt es auf rechtliche Weise, sonst begeht er Raub an Gott", TH. W., II, 758. but is is analogous to medicine. When one is choked by a piece of meat one has no enjoyment from drinking water to remove it. after every food eat salt: water and salt were considered health-bringing. They were also used for medicinal purposes, cf. Krauss, TA, I, 259. never come to harm, i. e. never be ill.

'LXXIV. The washing of hands after a meal requires no *beraka* since it was only instituted as a precautionary measure against danger to health (RaMBaM, HB, VI, 2). R. Idi b. Abin said: Chullin 105 a. is command, the sages have ordained it (cf. Ri. a. l.). R. Chiyya bar Ashshe said etc., Sota 4 b. because an evil spirit dwells on

return and make his hands unclean. The washing before the meal [should be done] in a vessel or on the earth. The washing after the meal should be done only in a vessel. Abbaye said: Formerly I thought that they did not wash [their hands] after the meal on the earth because of the filth, but the teacher told me [that the washing must be done in a vessel] because an evil spirit dwells on this water.

LXXV. When a person breaks the bread he recites the *beraka* "who bringest forth bread from the earth". And if there is an appointment one per-

this water. There are numerous references to demons of different kinds in the Rabbinical literature (cf. UJE, III, 533 ff). One of the rabbis to whom reference is made in connection with sayings regarding demons is Abbaye (bab. Amora from the fourth generation, cf. Strack, 145). He told of being afraid to sit near a gutter, and explained that it was not because of the dirty water which came from it, but because the demons were hiding there (UJE, III, 534). As, according to his opinion, an evil spirit dwells on dirty water, one should not wash one's hands on the earth. SA, § 181:2 gives the same reason for not washing one's hands on the earth.

LXXV. When a person breaks the bread etc. A meal begins with the breaking of bread. The host recites the *beraka* "Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth." Cf. RaMBaM, HB, VII, 2. This *beraka* is quoted in Ber. VI, 1, and refers to Ps. 104:14. Abudr. (99 A) explains it: "The bread is not brought forth from the earth but the product from which they make bread [is brought forth from the earth]." According to the opinion of the rabbis, bread takes precedence of all other forms of food. "While each of them has its own special blessing to be recited over it, this does not release one from the duty of saying a benediction over bread. Conversely, one may say a benediction over bread, and that will serve for the entire meal, since all other foods can be considered as side dishes (Ber. VI, 3)" (UJE, II, 516).

The Gospels tell that Christ when feeding the multitude broke the bread, i. e. acted as host, Matt. 14:19; Mark 6:41. Before breaking the bread he "blessed" (*εὐλόγησεν*). Also in Matt. 26:26 and Mark 14:22 is reported that he "blessed" (in reference to bread at the last supper). Cf. Luke 24:30. As *εὐλογία* is the equivalent of *beraka* (cf. Elb. 5) this means that he recited a *beraka*, in accordance with the common Jewish custom (cf. Th. W., II, 760). In these cases *εὐλογεῖν* has no expressed object. Matt. 15:36 and John 6:11 have *εὐχαριστήσας* which is another translation of *berek* (cf. Th. W., II, 760). But in two cases in the NT *εὐλογεῖν* seems to be used with a material object: Mark 8:7 and Luke 9:16 (both cases in reference to food). Since *εὐλόγησεν* is a translation of *berek* which means "to praise", "to recite the due benediction" these expressions *εὐλογήσας αὐτά*, *εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς* in Mark 8:7; Luke 9:16 must mean that Christ recited the blessing belonging to the food. "In these cases 'blessing' must be

son begins the *beraka* "who bringest forth" in behalf of all of them, and one recites the *beraka* on wine for all of them. And the person who breaks the bread should set salt or a relish before every individual of them, since Rabba bar Samuel said, in the name of R. Chiyya: The one who is breaking the bread is not permitted to break [it] before he has placed salt or relish before each one. And the one who starts [the *beraka*] "who bringest forth" and breaks the bread is forbidden to speak until he has tasted the piece of bread, and if he speaks before he has tasted the piece of bread he should recite the *beraka* again. And if he does not repeat the *beraka* but eats [the piece of bread] he mentions the name of God in vain, since he eats the piece of bread without a *beraka*.

LXXVI. And the one who washes his hands first, at the end of the meal, should say the invitation to the Grace, since R. Chiyya bar Ashshe said, in the name of Rab: Whoever washes his hands first at the end of the meal is designated to say the Grace.

understood as 'blessing God, the giver of bread" (Westcott, quoted in DCG, I, 212).

But the translations of the NT have often put an object to "blessed" (*εὐλόγησεν*) even where no object occurs in the Greek text, thus giving the readers the idea that Christ blessed the food. (Cf. the Swedish translation of 1917, Matth. 14:19; Mark 6:41: "välsignade dem", i. e. the loaves and the fishes. James Moffat [The New Testament. A new translation. London, N. D.] puts an object to "blessed" in Matth.14:19, Mark 6:41; Luke 24:30). And Christian graces before meals often contain a prayer that God may bless the food. Cf. the following English graces before meals: "Bless, o Lord, these gifts to our use, and ourselves to thy service, for Christ's sake. Amen." "Bless us, o Lord, and these thy gifts, which we are about to receive of thy bounty, through Christ our Lord. Amen" (ERE, VI, 374).

And if there is an appointment, i. e. if there is a common meal. In this case one of the persons present (the host, or, if there is no host, the senior of the company, cf. RaMBaM, HB, VII, 2) recites the benediction and breaks the bread (cf. Ber. 46 a). **Rabba bar Samuel etc.**, Ber. 40 a. "The one who breaks the bread should not do so till salt or a relish has been placed before every one at the table, unless they propose to eat dry bread" (RaMBaM, HB, VII, 3).

LXXVI. **And the one who washes etc.** The meal is followed by washing of hands, Ber. 46 b. since R. Chiyya etc., Ber. 46 b. "When water has been brought for washing [the hands], the person who says Grace after meals washes his hands first, so that he, the senior, should not sit with unclean hands till another has washed" (RaMBaM, HB, VII, 12).

LXXVII. And how do they say Grace? If they are three or four up to nine, the reader commences and says: "We will bless him of whose bounty we have partaken." And they respond: "Blessed be he of whose bounty we have partaken, and through whose goodness we live." And he who says the Grace replies: "Blessed be he of whose bounty we have partaken, and through whose goodness we live." And whence is it proven that we should do so? Because it is taught in the Mishna: How do they say the Grace? If three are present, one says: "We will bless him of whose bounty we have partaken." And the Tanna only changes [the formula] if there are ten present, for [in this case] he changes and teaches: If ten are present, one says: "We will bless our God [of whose bounty . . .]." And they said the following in the name of R. Nisi, son of R. Samuel: For when he is among ten, he who says the Grace should say: "We will bless our God of whose bounty we have partaken" but it is not necessary to say *l'Elohenu*. What is the reason? Because it is written: *Sing unto JHWH; Magnify JHWH; Sing praises unto JHWH*, with Lamed, but as regards the *beraka* we find that it is written: *Bless ye JHWH*;

LXXVII. **And how do they etc.**, cf. Ber. VII, 3. **We will bless him of whose bounty etc.**, Ber. VII, 3. God is the giver of food. Cf. Sota 10 a: *And Abraham planted a tamarisk-tree in Beer-sheba* (Gen. 21:33). Resh Laqish said: We understand that Abraham made a garden and planted therein all manner of precious things [for the entertainment of wayfarers].—*And he called there on the name of the Lord*. Read not *he called* [*wayyiqrā*] but *he made call* [*wayyaqrī*]. We understand that Abraham, our father, had the name of the Holy One, blessed be He! proclaimed in the mouth of all passers-by. How? After they had eaten and drunk, they rose to thank him. He said to them: Was the food you have eaten mine? Ye have partaken of the bounty of the God of the universe. Praise, glorify, and bless him who spake and the world was.

That one of the company should take the lead in calling upon the rest to offer thanks is, according to the Palestinian Talmud (Ber. VII, 2), at least as old as Simon b. Shetach (the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus and Salome Alexandra, 103—67 B.C., cf. Strack, 117 seq.). Because it is taught etc., Ber. VII, 3. **And the Tanna only changes etc.** The preliminary formula before the Grace after meals does not contain the phrase "our God" if fewer than ten are present, but if ten or more are present it contains this phrase. **in the name of R. Nisi etc.** This dictum also occurs in Vitry, § 61, and Rashi, § 90. But Vitry reads *Bibi*, instead of *Nisi*, and Rashi reads *Nism*. Rashi (§ 90, footnote 3) remarks that the dictum is found in the *Pardes* and other mediaeval liturgical works. **but it is not necessary to say etc.** It is not necessary to put the Lamed before '*Elohenu*', because the Lamed is used before '*Elohenu*' only in

Wherefore David blessed JHWH. We do not find it with Lamed, and so is the Halacha.

LXXVIII.

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who feedest the world with goodness, with grace and mercy, who givest food to all flesh for thou nourishest and sustainest all beings and providest food for all thy creatures. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who givest food unto all.

We thank thee, JHWH, our God, for a desirable, good and ample land which thou wast pleased to give to our fathers, and for thy covenant which thou hast marked in our flesh, and for the Torah which thou hast given us, and for life, grace, mercy and food which thou hast lent us in every season. And for all this, JHWH, our God, we thank thee and bless thy name. Blessed be thy name upon us continually and for ever. Blessed be thou, JHWH, for the land and for the food.

songs of praise, as in Ex. 15:21, Ps. 34:4; 9:12. But the Lamed is not used before 'Elohénu in connection with the word *berek*, as in Ps. 134:1 and 135:19. (This dictum is quoted from Amr. in Tosaf. ad Ber. 49 b.)

139.

LXXVIII. There are four *berakot* after meals, cf. above, p. ■■■ "The order of Grace after meals is as follows: The first benediction is that beginning 'Who feedeth'; the second is the benediction for the Land; the third [concludes] 'Who buildeth Jerusalem'; the fourth begins 'Who is good and doeth good'" (RaMBaM, HB, II, 1). **Blessed be thou** etc. This benediction "gives the essence of the Grace—thanksgiving for the food partaken. In form and content it is *universal* (quoting Psalm 136:25) . . . It may even be said to be 'cosmic', as it affirms God's loving care for all His creatures" (Hertz, III, 968 seq.). **with grace and mercy**, cf. Ex. 33:19; Ps. 118:1. **who givest food** etc., cf. Ps. 136:25.

We thank thee etc. This benediction "must begin and end with thanksgiving and its concluding formula is 'for the land and for the food'" (RaMBaM, HB, II, 3), cf. Ber. 49 a. Whoever omits from the benediction the phrase "a land, desirable, good and ample" has not fulfilled his duty. The Abrahamic covenant and the Torah must also be mentioned in it. The reference to the covenant must come first, since the covenant referred to in the benediction for the land is the rite of circumcision in connection with which there are thirteen covenants, while in connection with the Torah there were only three, cf. Deut. 28:69; 29:9—11. (RaMBaM, ibid.). **desirable**, Jer. 3:19. The land is called so because the Temple is in it, Ps. 68:17 (cf. Ex. Rabba 32:2). **good and ample**, cf. Ex. 3:8. **and for the covenant:** according to Baer (555) the [Abrahamic] covenant is mentioned before the Torah because it was given before the Torah. **and for the Torah**, cf. PT Ber. I, 9: R. Joshua b. Levi said: If one has not mentioned the Torah in the second benediction of the Grace after meals one must repeat it. What is the reason? Because it is said: *And he gave them the lands of the nations* (Ps. 105:44). What was

Have mercy, JHWH, our God, upon thy people Israel, upon thy city Jerusalem, upon Zion, the abiding place of thy glory, upon the kingdom of the house of David thine anointed, and upon the great and holy house that was called by thy name. Feed us, nourish us, sustain us, provide for us, relieve us speedily from our anxieties, and let us not stand in need of the gifts of mortals, for their gifts are small and their reproach is great, for we have trusted in thy holy, great and fearful name. And may Elijah and the Messiah, the son of David, come in our life-time, and let the kingdom of the house of David return to its place, and reign thou over us, thou alone, and save us for thy name's sake, and bring us up in it and gadden us in it and comfort us in Zion thy city. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who rebuildest Jerusalem.

And in conclusion one should say: "and comfort us" because the sages said: One begins with comfort and concludes with comfort. And he replies "Amen", and after "who rebuildest Jerusalem" [he says] "Amen".

the purpose? R. Abba b. Acha said in the name of Rab: *That they might keep his statutes and observe his laws* (Ps. 105:45).

In the printed siddurim a thanksgiving for the redemption from Egypt is inserted (cf. Singer, 280; Gaster, I, 60). It does not occur in Amr. and not in Sa. (cf. Sa. 102). But it is found in Vitry, § 83, and in RaMBaM (cf. Baer, 555).

Have mercy etc., a prayer for Jerusalem, cf. Ber. 49 a. RaMBaM points out that the most important matter in this petition is the prayer for the house of David (RaMBaM, HB, II, 4). Have mercy, cf. Ps. 103:13. upon Zion etc., cf. Joel 4:21. the great and holy house etc., i. e. the Temple, cf. 2 Chron. 7:16. This prayer "implores God's pity upon the Jewish people as a whole. The middle of this third benediction consists of a fervent petition for food, nourishment and sustenance, coupled with the heart-stirring supplication that we be never thrown on the mercy of mortals, never become pauperized by their doles or humiliated by their loans; and that we be saved from the dire poverty which may lead to degradation and dishonour" (Hertz, III, 970 seq.). Grant us relief etc., cf. Esther 4:14.

And in the conclusion etc., Ber. 48 b. The beginning of this benediction ("Have mercy") is considered as "consolation" (cf. Abudr. 102 A).

And he replies "Amen": the reponse "Amen" is given after this *beraka* because only the three first *berakot* are prescribed in the Torah, Ber. 45 b, cf. SA § 188:1.

O:

S:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, our Father, our King, our Redeemer, our Mighty one, our Creator, the Lord of our souls, our Holy one, the Holy one of Jacob, King who art kind and dealest kindly who day by day dost deal kindly with us, who dost bestow us benefits, who wilt ever bestow benefits upon us, yielding us grace, lovingkindness, mercy and all good.

May the All-merciful grant us an honourable livelihood. The All-merciful shall be blessed in heaven and on

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, our Father, our King, our Redeemer, our Mighty One, our Creator, the Lord of our souls, our Holy One, thou Holy One of Jacob, King who art kind and dealest kindly who day by day dealest kindly with us, and who bestowest benefits upon us, who wilt bestow benefits upon us for ever, yielding us grace, lovingkindness, mercy and all good.

May the All-merciful grant us an honourable livelihood. The All-merciful shall be praised throughout all

Blessed be thou etc. As mentioned above the Talmud states that this benediction was instituted on the day on which permission was given to bury those slain in Bethar (cf. above, p. 140). It appears from the content that it was composed "on the occasion of some great good that befell Israel, for it praises God as 'the kind One who dealeth kindly'" (Finkelstein: *The Birkat Ha-Mazon*, 221). But Finkelstein gives good evidence for his opinion that this benediction was formulated earlier than 135 A. D. (Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 221 f.).

The content of the benediction is general praise and petition. God's Kingship is mentioned in it three times, as is ordained in Ber. 49 a. **the Holy One of Jacob**, cf. Is. 29:23. **who art good** etc., cf. Ps. 119:68.

After the phrase "the Holy One of Jacob" the printed siddurim add: "our Shepherd, the Shepherd of Israel" (cf. Singer, 283; Gaster, I, 61). This addition is found as early as in Vitry, § 83, but does not occur in Amr.

May the All-Merciful etc. These petitions do not belong to the Grace but are additions (cf. Baer, 559). "In all versions the fourth benediction is followed by a series of prayers beginning with the word *Ha-Rahaman*. In some rites they are as few as three, in others there are very many. The only reference to such prayers in the Talmud is the statement that a guest should invoke a blessing on his host when reciting the Grace (Ber. 46a). It is noteworthy that these prayers center about the Redemption and that they are followed by a number of verses dealing with the same thought. It is probable that this custom is very old, for in the Christian prayer of the Eucharist, given in the *Didache* (see Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 216), a similar prayer for the coming of the Kingdom follows the completion of the main benedictions. It seems entirely likely that from the dark days when the Temple fell, Israel always felt the need of comforting herself after the Grace by reading verses in which the future redemption and glory were assured her" (Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 234).

◎:

earth. The All-merciful shall be praised throughout all generations, glorified to all eternity. May he enlighten our eyes with the light of his Torah. (The All-merciful rescue us from an unnatural death.) The All-merciful rescue us from evil diseases. The All-merciful rescue us from sore sufferings. The All-merciful rescue us from an unnatural death. The All-merciful save us from the future punishment. The All-merciful save us from sufferings in the grave. The All-merciful rescue us from misery. The All-merciful rescue us from the defamation of the name of God. The All-merciful rescue us from every sort of religious persecution. The All-merciful rescue us from all misfortune and distress. The All-merciful rescue us from every evil dispensation. The All-merciful give us peace. He maketh peace in his high places, may he make peace upon us and upon all Israel.

And he says:

Our King, our God, single out thy kingdom in thy world, rebuild thy house and establish thy Temple, and gladden thy congregation. Do it for

§:

generations. The All-merciful shall be glorified to all eternity. The All-merciful enlighten our eyes with the light of his Torah. The All-merciful rescue us from an unnatural death. The All-merciful save us from evil diseases. The All-merciful rescue us from hard sufferings. The All-merciful save us from the future punishment. The All-merciful rescue us from misery. The All-merciful save us from the defamation of the Name of God. The All-merciful rescue us from all sorts of religious persecution. The All-merciful rescue us from all misfortune and distress. The All-merciful rescue us from every evil dispensation. The All-merciful give us peace. He maketh peace in his high places, may he make peace upon all Israel.

And he says:

Our King, our God, single out thy kingdom in thy world, rebuild thy house and establish thy Temple, and gladden thy congregation. Do it for thy name's sake, do it for thy sake and not for our sake, do it for thy sake and save us that thy beloved may be delivered.

This opinion of Finkelstein as regards the origin of these petitions may seem probable but it cannot be confirmed by reference to tradition. Cf. *Tur*, § 189 (end): "They use to prolong the *beraka* 'who art kind' with 'All-merciful' in many variants but I do not know from where this usage comes..."

As Finkelstein points out the number of these petitions in different liturgies (cf. Singer, 238 seq.; Gaster, I, 61 seq.).

Amr. contains no *beraka* for the host, although such a *beraka* is given in the Talmud, Ber. 46 a. It also occurs in Vitry, § 83, and in RaMBaM, HB, II, 7.

Our King, our God etc. This is a briefer version of a prayer which is also found

Θ:

thy name's sake, do it for thy sake and not for our sake. Thy right hand help us, and answer us. May the All-merciful make us worthy of the years of the Messiah, and of good, and of blessing, and of life of the world to come.

Σ:

Save with thy right hand, and answer us. May the All-merciful make us worthy of the days of Messiah and of the life of the world to come.

And if one does not wish to say "Our King" he is all right, since the rabbis ordained as follows: they ordained only "who feedest", "for the land", "who rebuildest Jerusalem" and "who art kind and dealest kindly".

LXXIX. And on the Sabbath one recites the *beraka* "who feedest" and "for the land" but in the third *beraka* he says:

Comfort us, JHWH, our God, in Zion, thy city, and in establishing thy Temple, and be merciful, JHWH, our God, unto thy people and upon thy city Jerusalem and upon Zion, the dwelling place of thy glory etc. to: let speedily return to its place.

And he says:

Be pleased, JHWH, our God, to fortify us by thy commandments, and [especially] by the commandment of the seventh day. This [day] is great and holy through thy holiness and thy rest, and we will rest on it in accordance with the commandment of thy will, and let there be no trouble and grief

above, ch. XLIII. And if one etc. Only the four benedictions which constitute the Grace after meals are obligatory. The prayer "Our King" etc., thus, is optional.

LXXIX. And on the Sabbath etc. On the Sabbath a prayer regarding "the holiness of the day" is inserted in the middle of the third *beraka*, Ber. 48 b. As this prescription is found in a Baraita this usage must have existed in Tannaitic times. Comfort etc. This is a Palestinian prayer (cf. Davidson, III, 210 [no. 289]). It is quoted by RaMBaM (HB, II, 5) and by Abudr. (102 A). Comfort . . . Zion etc., cf. Is. 49:13; 51:3.

Be pleased etc. This prayer is also inserted in the third benediction on the Sabbath. It is quoted in Erub. III, 9, in the name of R. Dosa b. Archinos (belonging to the second

in our rest. And let the kingdom of the house of David speedily return to its place, and rebuild Jerusalem, thy holy city, speedily in our days and comfort us with comfort for thou art the Lord of comfort. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who rebuildest Jerusalem.

And on the Festival one commences in the third *beraka* in the same way as on the Sabbath, and when one comes to "speedily let return to its place" one says:

Our God, and the God of our fathers, may the remembrance of ourselves and of our fathers and the remembrance of Jerusalem, thy city, and the remembrance of the Messiah, the son of David, thy servant, and the remembrance of thy people, the whole house of Israel, arise and come, come to pass, be seen and accepted and heard, be remembered and be mentioned before thee for deliverance, for good, for grace, for lovingkindness and for mercy on this such and such day. Remember us, JHWH, our God, on it for good and visit us on it for blessing and save us on it unto life by a word of salvation and mercy, and spare, favour and show us mercy, for thou art a gracious and merciful God and King.

And he completes the whole *beraka*.

And when the individual says grace he commences: "Blessed . . . who feedest the whole world", and he completes the four *berakot* as it is written [above]. And on a Festival which falls on a Sabbath or on a day of New Moon or on a week-day intervening between the first and the last days of Passover and of Succoth one should say "fortify us" and "arise and come" each separately, and in the third *beraka* he commences with comfort and says: "Be pleased and fortify us" in the beginning and afterwards "arise and come" because [of the rule]: if a constant and a non-constant duty meet the constant has the precedence. And he concludes by comfort. And this is the usage in both academies.

generation of the Tannaim, cf. Strack, 123). Lord of comfort, cf. Is. 51:12. This prayer is also prescribed by RaMBaM (HB, II, 5) and SA (§ 188:5).

Our God etc. This prayer is referred to in Tos. Ber. III; Ber. 49 a; Sabb. 24 a (cf. Davidson, I, 222 [no. 4824]) but the text is not given there. for thou art gracious etc., cf. Neh. 9:31. if a constant and a not constant etc. This is a well known rule in the Talmud, cf. Zeb. X, 1: the daily whole-offerings precede the additional offerings; the additional offerings of the Sabbaths precede the additional offerings of the New Moons etc. (Cf. also Jastrow, s. v. *tadir*.)

LXXX. The Rabbis taught: A Halacha as regards the meal [is the following]: If a man goes out to urinate he should wash one hand and go in. If he talks with his neighbour and is detained he should wash both hands and go in. When washing [the hands] he should not wash [them] outside but go in and sit down on his place and wash [his hands], and pass the pitcher [which he has used for washing his hands] around the guests. R. Chisda said: This only for drinking but for taking food one washes [the hands] outside and goes in because they know that he would feel disgusted. R. Nachman b. Isaac said: I even when drinking because they know that I would feel disgusted.

LXXXI. And if anyone eats as much as an olive, he should recite a *beraka*, since R. Chiyya b. Abba said: I have seen R. Jochanan eat salted relish as much as an olive and he recited a *beraka* on it before and after. He was consequently of the same opinion as R. Meir who said: unto the size of an olive. And as regards the matter of joining [for grace] even if one does not eat more than a dry fig with them and not drink with them more than a cup of wine, one may join. But he cannot release the others from their duty until he has eaten so much bread as the size of an olive, even if there is a precedent because Simeon b. Shetach who acted so did it for himself.

R. Chiyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Jochanan: A man cannot say

LXXX. And the rabbis taught etc., Joma 30 a. not wash [them] outside: BT adds: "to avoid suspicion", i. e. suspicion that he did not wash his hands (Ri. a. l.). RaMBaM prescribes that, if one of the diners left the room, to urinate, he should wash one hand and re-enter. But if he was engaged in conversation, and was away a considerable time, he should wash both hands before rejoicing his companions. If they formed a drinking party, he should enter the room, resume his seat, wash his hands and then turn his face to the guests. "Why does he wash his hands when he is in his place? Lest they say that, as no food is being consumed, he has not washed his hands" (RaMBaM, HB, VII, 8).

because they know etc., and do not sneer at him (Ri. a. l.).

LXXXI. And if anyone eats etc., Ber. 38 b. as R. Meir etc., Ber. 49 b. even if one does not eat .. with them etc., Ber. 48 b. But he cannot release the others, i. e. recite the Grace in behalf of them. Simeon b. Shetach etc., Ber. 48 a tells that this scholar was asked to say grace for king Jannai and his queen, and that he said it over a cup of wine (without having eaten anything). did it for himself, i. e. nobody agrees with him (Ri. a. l.). R. Chiyya b. Abba said etc., Ber. 48 a. as we read in the

Grace in behalf of others until he has eaten with them at least the size of an olive bread. And we object and answer and conclude: A man is not able to discharge the many from their obligation until he has eaten as much bread as an olive with them. And if anyone comes and finds persons who begin a meal and recite the *beraka* he should respond after them, as we read in the Talmud: If one came and found [three] persons saying the Grace, what does he respond after them? R. Zebid says: "Blessed be JHWH, who is to be blessed." R. Papa said: [He responds] "Amen". And we read in the Talmud: They are not at variance. If he found them saying: "We will bless" he says: "Blessed be JHWH, who is to be blessed for ever and ever", but if he found them responding "Blessed" he says "Amen". And, furthermore, we explain the matter of a general man who is with those who recite the Grace: If they are from three up to nine in number, and somebody is there who recites the *beraka* and he says: "We will bless . . . we have partaken" and they say: "Blessed be He of whose bounty we have partaken", he should say with them: "Blessed be JHWH, who is to be blessed for ever and ever." And if he is with ten and the reader says: "We will bless our God", when they answer: "Blessed be our God of whose bounty we have partaken", he should say with them: "Blessed be our God, who is to be blessed for ever and ever." And if he comes and finds them when they have already responded, and he has not heard the reader, he answers after them "Amen".

LXXXII. And if anybody stands in the synagogue behind the *sheliach sibbur* he should concentrate his mind. And after the *sheliach sibbur* has

Talmud, Ber. 45 b. If one came etc. He comes from the street and finds three who are about to recite the Grace (cf. Ri. a. l.). Blessed be JHWH who is etc.: for he cannot say: "he of whose bounty we have partaken" since he has not eaten with them (cf. Ri. a. l.). [responds] "Amen": to the invocation to say grace. And we read etc., Ber. 48 a. a general man, i. e. a man who has not eaten with them but comes and finds them at the moment when they are about to say the Grace (cf. Frumkin, 370).

LXXXII. At the end of the preceding chapter it is prescribed that a man who comes in when three are about to recite the Grace after a meal should respond "Amen", even if he has not heard the invocation but only the word "Amen". In the present chapter Amr. shows that this rule does not apply to the *Tefilla*. When the *sheliach sibbur* recites the

closed every *beraka* by the concluding formula he should answer "Amen", since the Rabbis said: Why is it written: *JHWH preserveth the faithful*, i. e. those who answer "Amen" in faithfulness. When the *sheliach* says: "Blessed be thou who quickenest the dead" they answer "Amen", and they have not yet seen the resurrection of the dead but they believe that the Holy One, blessed be He, quickens the dead. And the *sheliach* says: "Blessed be thou who redeemest Israel" and they answer "Amen", and they are not yet redeemed but if you object they are [already] redeemed [once], they became slaves again, they trust in the Holy One, blessed be He, who in the future will redeem them, and they answer "Amen". The *sheliach* says "who rebuildest Jerusalem" and it is yet in ruins but they trust that the Holy One, blessed be He, will rebuild it in the future, and they answer "Amen". This proves that *JHWH preserveth the faithful* means those who trust [in God] and answer "Amen, JHWH preserveth".

LXXXIII. There is a Baraitha: The Amen uttered in response should be neither slurred over nor curtailed nor hurried nor orphaned nor should one hurl the *beraka* out of his mouth. Ben Azzai says: If a man says a hurried Amen his days will be hurried, if a broken Amen his years will be broken off, if a shortened Amen his days will be shortened, if an orphaned Amen his sons will be orphans. If he prolongs it they will prolong his days and years. And a person who answers Amen should answer it with his full strength, since Resh Laqish said: He who answers Amen with his full strength, they open for him the gates of Eden, as it is said: *Open ye gates, that the righteous nation that keepeth faithfulness may enter in.* Do not read *shomer emunim* but *sheomerim Amenim* [say Amen]. R. Joshua b. Levi said: He who answers "Amen, be his great name" with his full strength

Tefilla the members of the congregation should listen with concentration of mind. Only in this case do they fulfil their obligation (cf. SA, § 124:1). since the Rabbis said: the following explanation of *JHWH preserveth the faithful* (Ps. 31:24) occurs in Midr. Tehillim XXXI, 8.

LXXXIII. There is a Baraitha: Ber. 47 a. be slurred over, i. e. the responder pronounces the letter *Alef* with Chatef Patach (Ri. a.l.). curtailed, i. e. the responder does not pronounce the letter *Nun* in the end of the word Amen (Ri. a.l.). orphaned, i. e. the responder not having heard the benediction to which the "Amen" refers (cf. SA, § 124:8). And a person who etc., Sabb. 119 b. with his full strength, i. e. with all the concentration of his mind (cf. Ri. a.l.). Open ye gates etc., Is. 26:2. He who

they loosen for him the judicial verdict because it is said: *When there are disarrangements in Israel, when the people offer themselves willingly, bless ye JHWH.* Why are decreed punishments reversed? Because of the "Bless ye JHWH". R. Chiyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Jochanan: Even if there be some idolatry in him they forgive him, since it is written here *when there are disarrangements* and it is written there: *For Aaron had let them loose for a derision among their enemies*, therefore a man should answer: "Amen, be his great name" with his full strength, and so also "Amen" with his full strength. What is the meaning of Amen? R. Chanina said: [The initial letters of] *El melek nääman*.

answers "Amen" etc., i. e. the response in the Kaddish, cf. above, ch. XVII. **When there are disarrangements** etc., Judg. 5:2. The meaning of the two first words of this verse is obscure (cf. e. g. Moore: A critical and exegetical commentary on Judges, 137) and they are translated very differently. The Talmud here interprets *péraot* as "disarrangements", i. e. the punishments decreed by God are disarranged because of the fact that Israel praises JHWH. "bless ye JHWH", the invocation of the *sheliach sibbur*, cf. above, ch. XVII (end). **when the people offer themselves willingly**, the congregation gives itself willingly to say "Amen, Let his great name" etc. (in Kaddish). R. Chiyya etc. Sabb. 199 b. **for Aaron** etc., Ex. 32:25. Even sins which according to Ex. 32:25 should be characterized as *péraot* (licentiousness, i. e. idolatry) are forgiven when the congregation willingly gives itself to say "Amen". (As regards the importance of "Amen", cf. Billerbeck, III, 457 ff.). R. Chanina said etc., Sanh. 111 a. In this acrosticon it is expressed that Israel declares its firm belief in God by responding "Amen" (cf. Ri. a. l.).

The Afternoon Service.

LXXXIV. When the time of the afternoon service comes one washes his hands but one is not under obligation to recite the *beraka*. And if he has no water for washing his hands and if he knows that there is water within a distance of four miles, he should wait till he comes to the place where there is water and [then] wash his hands and recite the *Tefilla*, even if the time for the *Tefilla* has passed. But if it is more than four miles [to the place where there is water] he should recite the *Tefilla* at once. And he should not omit the *Tefilla*, even if he has not washed his hands because he is unavoidably prevented [from washing his hands]. And although we read: Rabina said to Raba: Sir, pray look at this scholar who has come from the West and who says that if a man has no water for washing his hands, he should wipe his hands with pebbles, he replied: He is quite right. Because it is written: *I will wash my hands in purity*, everything that cleanses. Dust and pebbles also cleanse. And, again, we read in the Talmud: R. Chisda cursed

LXXXIV—LXXXIX. These chapters deal with the afternoon service (cf. Elb. 98 seq.). The name of this service is derived from that of meal-offering which, as appears from I Kings 18:36, was offered in the afternoon (cf. Abr. cv seq.). Tradition ascribes its institution to the patriarch Isaac, Ber. 26 b. This is deduced from Gen. 24:63. *And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide.* "The Rabbis loved to associate the Synagogue rites with the deeds of the older patriarchs, and (Ber. 26 b) so they ascribed the habit of the morning prayer to Abraham (on the basis of Gen. 19:27), of the afternoon prayer to Isaac, and of the night prayer to Jacob (on the basis of Gen. 28:11)" (Abr. cvi).

As Abr. remarks (p. cv) the afternoon service introduces no passage unique to itself. All the parts of which it is composed occur elsewhere in the synagogue service.

LXXXIV. **not under the obligation to recite the beraka**, the *beraka* on the washing of hands, cf. above, ch. I. **four miles**, a mile—a distance of 2.000 cubits (Krauss, TA, II, 391). Rabina said etc., Ber. 15 a. **from the West**, i. e. from Palestine. It is written, Ps. 26:6. "Raba apparently stresses the order of the words in the original, and renders: I will (do the equivalent) of bathing in purity [by washing] my hands" (Simon, 86, footnote 3, cf. Ri. a. l.). **R. Chisda cursed** etc., Ber. 15 a. **it must be recited**

him who goes looking for water at the time of the *Tefilla*. This applies to the recital of the *Shema*, since it must be recited in its time. But as to the *Tefilla* which is [praying for God's] lovingkindness whenever one would pray the *Tefilla* one should go looking [for water]. And how far? As far as four miles. This is the case if it is in front of him but if it is behind him he should go back if it is less than a mile. If it is a mile he should not go back.

LXXXV. And when he goes to the synagogue he says: *Happy are they that dwell in thy house* etc. And of the Kaddish [he recites] up to "though he be high above". And they pray the eighteen *berakot* in a low voice, and the *sheliach sibbur* says *Abot* and *Geburot* and he says "A crown they give to thee" and concludes with "who maketh peace", in the same way as they say the *Tefilla* in the morning service. And they fall down on their faces and he says: "We do not know what we should do." And of the Kaddish [he recites] up to "he maketh peace in his high places, may he make peace for us and for all Israel".

LXXXVII. And if anyone is doubtful whether he has prayed the *Tefilla* or not, whether he has recited the *Shema* or not, whether he has said "True and firm" or not, or whether he has said the Grace or not, whether he has

in its time, the *Shema* should be recited at a set time, cf. above, ch. XV. This is the case etc., it is presupposed that he is travelling, cf. RaMBaM, HT, IV, 2, 3.

LXXXV. *Happy are* etc., Ps. 145, to which is prefixed Ps. 84:5 and Ps. 144:15, cf. Elb. 85. This threefold repetition of the word *ashre* has given its name to the recitation. (The Greek equivalent of *'ashre* is *παυχίστος*, cf. Matt. 5:3 ff., see Box: St. Matthew, 107). till 'though he be high above', i.e. the Half-Kaddish. *Abot* and *Geburot*, the two first paragraphs of the *Tefilla*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII. "A crown", cf. above, ch. LVI. "who maketh peace", cf. above, ch. LVI. And the fall down etc., i.e. the Tachanunim, cf. above, ch. LXV. till 'he maketh peace' etc., i.e. the Full-Kaddish, cf. above, ch. LXV.

LXXXVI. This chapter is found only in MS. Q, and, as Fr. (p. 375) points out, its text cannot be quite in order. It prescribes that the first part of the seventeenth paragraph and the nineteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla* should not be recited in the afternoon service, but here should be said: "Grant abundant peace unto Israel thy people for ever; for thou art the sovereign Lord of peace. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who blesseth thy people Israel with peace." (Cf. Singer, 94 j.)

Concerning this usage, cf. Elb. 99.

LXXXVII. And if anybody is doubtful etc. The Talmudic prescriptions regarding these cases are summarized in SA, § 67; 107. "True and firm", the benediction after

recited the *berakot* on the seven species or not, what should we do? In the Gemara we read the following: R. Judah said in the name of R. Samuel: If anyone is in doubt as to whether he has recited the *Shema* or not, he need not recite it again. If he is in doubt as to whether he has said "True and firm" or not, he should say "True and firm" again. But R. Eleazar said: Even if he is in doubt whether he has recited the *Shema*, he should recite it again on account of the respect due to the Divine Government; but if he is in doubt as to whether he has prayed the *Tefilla* or not, he need not pray it again. But R. Jochanan said: Even if he is in doubt as to whether he has prayed the *Tefilla* or not, he should pray it again. R. Jochanan shares the opinion of him who said: Would that a man would pray the whole day. And the Halacha is in every case that he should do it again [if he is in doubt]. But he has indeed recited the *Shema* and comes and finds the congregation reciting the *Shema*. [In this case] he says the first verse alone with them. Or, again, he has indeed recited the *Tefilla* and goes into the synagogue and

the *Shema* in the morning service, cf. above, ch. XXIX. **the seven species**, for which the land of Israel was famed, namely wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olive-oil and (date-)honey, Deut. 8:8, cf. Bicc. I, 3; Ber. VI, 4. In the Gemara etc., Ber. 21 a. R. Judah is of the opinion that the recital of the *Shema* is ordained only by the rabbis but that the saying of "True and firm" is a Scriptural ordinance, Ber. 21 a. But R. Eleazar etc. R. Eleazar prescribes that the *Shema* should be recited again because he is of the opinion that the recital of the *Shema* is a Scriptural ordinance (cf. Ri. a.l.).

And the Halacha is . . . he should do it agarin. Cf. RaMBaM, HS, II, 13: If a man is in doubt whether he has recited the *Shema* or not, he should recite it again and recite the *berakot* before it and after it. (Cf. also *Tur*, § 67, and BJ a.l. where Ber. 21 a is discussed.) And if a man is in doubt whether he has prayed the *Tefilla* or not, he should pray it again, cf. *Tur*, § 107; SA § 107:1.

Would that a man would pray etc., Ber. 21 a. If a person wishes to pray the *Tefilla* the whole day, he may do so. And the *Tefillot* he adds are accounted to him as if he brought free-will offerings, RaMBaM, HT, I, 11. But every time he must recite the *Tefilla* with concentration of mind. If he recites it without concentration, it is said about him: *To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me: Saith JHWH*, Is. 1:11, cf. SA, § 107:4.

But he has perhaps etc., SA, § 65:2 gives the reason that if he does not recite the first verse with the congregation it might seem as if he did not like to take upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven together with other men.

Or, again, he has perhaps etc., Ber. 21 b. if he can add something fresh. Cf. RaMBaM, HT, I, 11: If a person wishes to pray the *Tefilla* the whole day, he may do so. And all these *Tefillot* which he adds are accounted to him as if he brought free-

finds the congregation praying the *Tefilla*. R. Judah said the following in the name of R. Samuel: If he can add something fresh, he should recite the *Tefilla again*, but if he cannot, he should not recite it again.

LXXXVIII. Or he has not prayed the *Tefilla* and comes to the synagogue and finds the congregation praying the *Tefilla*: in this case R. Huna and R. Joshua b. Levi differ in opinion, for we read the following in the Gemara: R. Huna said: If a man goes into a synagogue and finds the congregation praying the *Tefilla*, if he can begin and finish before the *sheliach sibbur* reaches "We give thanks", he may pray the *Tefilla*; but if he cannot, he should not pray the *Tefilla*. And R. Joshua b. Levi said: If he can begin and finish before the *sheliach* reaches the "Holy", he should pray the *Tefilla*; but if not he should not pray the *Tefilla*. And we read in the Talmud: What is the ground of their difference? R. Huna held that a man praying alone does say the "Holy" but R. Joshua b. Levi held that a man praying alone does not say the "Holy". But we hold that a man praying alone does not say the "Holy". And again we read in the Talmud that the whole world agrees that one should not interrupt till he answers "Holy". And we read in the Talmud: The question was asked: What is the rule about interrupting [the

will offerings. Therefore he must add in each of the middle *berakot* a thought appropriate to the particular *beraka*. If he adds in one *beraka* only, that is sufficient to manifest that this *Tefilla* is voluntary and not obligatory. But in the first three and the last three *berakot* there must be no addition, diminution or change, cf. RaMBaM, HT, I, 11.

LXXXVIII. Or he has not . . . and finds the congregation praying etc. Every individual in the congregation first prays the *Tefilla* in a low voice and the *sheliach sibbur* afterwards repeats it aloud, cf. above, ch. LVI. Here the reference is to the case of a man who comes into the synagogue and finds the individuals praying the *Tefilla*. in the Gemara, Ber. 21b. "We give thanks", the eighteenth paragraph of the *Tefilla*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII. All should bow in this benediction, cf. above, LIII. If the individual who came late to the synagogue does not bow together with the congregation he seems like an atheist (cf. Ri. a.l.). the "Holy", the third benediction of the *Tefilla*, cf. above, ch. XXXVIII. If he does not respond with the congregation in the *Qedusha* he seems like an atheist. But we object etc. The Halacha is that the individual should not recite the *Qedusha*. At least ten males, free [i.e. not slaves], adults having grown two hairs, must be present, cf. SA, § 55:1. And again we read etc. This dictum does not occur in Ber. 21 b. The question was asked etc., Ber. 21 a. "Amen, May his great

Tefilla] to respond "Amen, May his great name be blessed"? And although we deduce that one may interrupt, we again object: The Halacha is that one should not interrupt.

LXXXIX. And it is necessary to tarry one hour and then to pray the *Tefilla* since we read the following in the Mishna: The pious men of olden times used to wait one hour before they recited the *Tefilla* that they might direct their heart to God. And R. Joshua b. Levi said: One who prays the *Tefilla* should wait one hour before his prayer because it is written: *Happy are they that dwell in thy house*. And [he should wait] one hour after his prayer, since it is written: *Surely the righteous shall give thanks unto thy name, the upright shall sit in thy presence*.

name" etc., i. e. Kaddish. The Halacha is etc. Cf. SA, § 104:7, with reference to Ber. 21 a: A man praying the *Tefilla* should not interrupt in order to respond to the *Qedusha* or to Kaddish but should be silent and concentrate his mind on that which the *sheliach sibbur* says. When he acts thus it is as if he had said the response.

LXXXIX. And it is necessary etc. This prescription also occurs in SA, § 93:1. in the Mishna, Ber. V, 1. The pious men of olden times, perhaps identical with the Wattiqin, cf. above, ch. XV. used to wait, in the place where they were going to pray (Ri. a.l.). Happy are etc., Ps. 84:5. The following part of the verse runs: *they are ever praising thee*. This indicates, according to the Talmud, that one should first tarry and afterwards praise God (cf. Ri. a.l.). Surely etc., Ps. 140:14. The righteous first praise God and afterwards they dwell in his presence (cf. Ri. a.l.).

The Evening Service.

XC. A man who recites the *Shema* of the evening service before the appearance of the stars has not fulfilled his obligation, since a Baraita says: From what time do they begin to recite the *Shema* in the evening? From the time that the priests enter to eat of their Heave-offering. And a sign of the thing is the appearance of the stars. And [another] Baraita says: If any man recites [the *Shema*] before the prescribed time, he has not fulfilled his obligation. And how many stars should appear for it to be night? There is a Baraita: R. Nathan says: [As long as only] one star [is visible] it is daytime, [as long as only] two [are visible] it is twilight, [when there are] three it is night. And R. Jose b. Abin said: Not the great stars which appear by day nor the small stars which appear in the night, but the average stars.

XC—XCIII. These chapters deal with the evening service, cf. Elb. 99—106. RaMBaM summarizes the prescriptions regarding the evening service in the following way: In the evening [service] all the congregants are seated, and he [the *sheliach sibbur*] rises and recites, "And he being merciful" etc., "Bless ye JHWH who is to be blessed". They respond: "Blessed is JHWH who is to be blessed for ever and ever." He then begins to recite the *Shema* and says Kaddish, after which all rise and silently pray the *Tefilla*. When they have concluded, he says the Kaddish and they [then] depart. He does not repeat the *Tefilla* aloud in the evening service because the *Tefilla* of the evening service is not obligatory (RaMBaM, HT, IX, 9). Some Talmudic authorities regard this service as optional, Ber. 27 b. But the discussion only referred to the service as a whole not to the *Shema*. "All authorities held that it was obligatory to read the *Shema* at night. The view prevailed which treated the evening service as a regular part of the daily worship, but as a concession to the rival opinion the Amidah is not repeated aloud, and no Kedushah is introduced" (Abr. cvii).

XC. before the appearance of the stars etc. "The times of day for the various Jewish prayers have been fixed as a result of different ideas; they are partly based on the visible daily changes of nature, partly derived from the sacrificial cult, and the two conceptions have been fused together" (Elbogen, UJE, VII, 139). since a Baraita says, Ber. 2 b. From the time that the priests etc. The priests who have suffered uncleanness (Lev. 22:4—7) must immerse themselves and await sunset before they are fit to eat of the hallowed things or heave-offering. And a sign of the thing, Ber. 2 b. And [another] Baraita, PT Ber. I, 1. There is a Baraita, Sabb. 35 b, cf. PT Ber. I, 1.

XCI. And the *sheliach sibbur* stands and begins: And he, being merciful, forgiveth iniquity and destroyeth not: many a time he turneth his anger away, and doth not stir up all his wrath. Save, JHWH, let the King answer us in the day that we call. And he blesses: "Bless ye JHWH who is to be blessed." And they respond: "Blessed be JHWH who is to be blessed for ever and ever." And he commences and says:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who at thy word causest the evenings to advance, with wisdom openest the gates of the heavens, and with understanding changest times and dost vary the seasons, and arrange the stars in their watches in the sky, according to thy will. Thou createst day and night; thou rollest away the light before the darkness, och the darkness from before the light; thou makest the day to pass and the night to approach, and dividest the day from the night, JHWH of hosts is thy name; living and enduring continually, do thou reign over us for ever and ever. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who bringest on the evening twilight.

XCI. And the *sheliach sibbur* etc. The evening service begins with the reciting of Ps. 78:38 and 20:10, so that these verses take the same place in the evening service as *pesuke de zimra* in the morning service. Different reasons are given for these verses being recited here (cf. Abudr. 42 A; Baer, 163; Elb. 100). "Von den verschiedenen . . . Begründungen ist die die einleuchtendste, dass die Zeit bis zum Eintritt der Nacht ausgefüllt werden und dass unserem Gebete wie den anderen einige Bibelverse vorausgehen sollten" (Elb., ibid.). **And he commences** etc. In the evening service the *Shema* should be preceded by two *berakot* and followed by two *berakot*, Ber. I, 4. The content of the two *berakot* preceding the *Shema* in the evening service is essentially identical with that of the two corresponding *berakot* in the morning service.

Blessed . . . who at thy word etc. This prayer corresponds to "who formest the light" etc. in the morning service, cf. above, ch. XX. **at thy word:** the world has been created by the word of God, Ps. 33:6. **bringest the evening twilight:** (lit. "who makest-evening the evenings" [Abr., cx]), i.e. the evening between the time when day begins to decline and sunset and actual darkness (Abr. cx; Krauss, TA, II, 418, 721). **openest the gates of heavens** etc., cf. Gen. 28:17; Ps. 78:23. "The whole passage is a forcible description of the transformations that recur during the course of a single day, from 'the opening of the gates' at dawn, through the changing of *times* during morning, noon and eve, the varying of *seasons* from day to night, until we reach the ranging of the stars in their *watches in the sky*, the rolling away of light before darkness, anticipatory of the rolling away again of the darkness before light as a scroll or screen is rolled away and the background disclosed" (Abr., cix). **changest times**, cf. Dan. 2:21. **in their watches**, cf. 2 Chron. 31:17. **rollest away the light**, cf. Ber. 11 b. **JHWH of hosts**, Jer. 31:35.

With everlasting love thou hast loved the house of Israel, thy people; Torah and commandments, statutes and judgments hast thou taught us. Therefore, JHWH, our God, when we lie down and when we rise up we will meditate on thy statutes. We will rejoice in the words of thy Torah and in thy commandments for ever; for they are our life and the length of our days, and we will meditate on them day and night. And mayest thou never take away thy love from us. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who lovest thy people Israel.

And they recite the *Shema*. And he says:

True and trustworthy is all this, and it is established with us that he is JHWH, our God, and there is none beside him, and that we, Israel, are his people. True is our King, who hath redeemed us from the hand of the kings, who hath delivered us from the grasp of all the terrible ones; the God, who on our behalf hath dealt out punishment to our adversaries, and requited all the enemies of our soul; who hath kept our soul in life, and hath not suffered our feet to be moved; hath made us tread upon the high places of our enemies, and exalted our horn over them that hated us; who wrought for us vengeance upon Pharaoh, signs and wonders in the land of Ham; who in his wrath smote all the firstborn of Egypt, and brought forth his people Israel from among them to everlasting freedom; who made his children pass between the divisions of the Red Sea, but sank their pursuers and their enemies in the depths. Then his children saw his might; they praised and gave thanks unto his name, and willingly accepted his sovereignty. Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying, all of them: *Who is like unto thee, JHWH, among the gods? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness,*

With everlasting love etc. This *beraka*, like "With abounding love" in the morning service (cf. above, ch. XX) eulogizes God for the Torah. The initial words hint at Jer. 31:3. **Torah and commandments etc.**, cf. Deut. 6:1. **for they are our life etc.**, cf. Deut. 32:47. **we will meditate on them**, cf. Jos. 1:8; Ps. 119:23. **shall never pass away from us**: this reading also occurs in Sa. (26) but the reading of Vitry (p. 78) and later siddurim (cf. Singer, 96) is "and mayest thou never take away thy love from us".

And they recite etc. Amr. presupposes that the same Scripture sections are recited in the evening service as in the morning service; but the third section, Num. 15:37—41, was not originally read in the evening service, cf. Elb. 101.

True and trustworthy etc., i. e. all that we have said in the *Shema* is true and trustworthy, cf. Ps. 119:86 (Baer, 166). "The Torah is true, as it is said: *And thy Torah is truth*" (Abudr., 42 B). **who redeemed us from the hands of the kings**: from Pharaoh, Sihon and Og in the days of Moses (Abudr., 42 B). **who holdeth our soul in life**, cf. Ps. 66:9. **made us tread upon the high places etc.**, cf. Deut. 33:29. **And exalted our horn etc.**, cf. Ps. 112:9. **wrought for us vengeance etc.**, cf. Ps. 94:1. **they praised and gave thanks**, cf. Ex. 15. willingly accepted his sovereignty: because they said:

fearful in praises, doing wonders? Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast heard the song at the sea, all of them together gave thanks and homage and said: *JHWH shall reign for ever and ever.* And it is said: *For JHWH hath ransomed Jacob, and he redeemeth him from the hand of him that is stronger than he.* Blessed be thou, JHWH, who hast redeemed Israel.

Cause us, JHWH, our God, to lie down in peace, and raise us up, our King, unto life and peace. Spread over us the tabernacle of thy peace; direct us aright according to thy good counsel; save us for thy Name's sake; be thou a shield about us; remove from us pestilence, sword, evil, famine and sorrow; destroy the adversary from before us and from behind us; and guard our going out and our coming in from this time forth and for evermore; for thou art our Guardian and our Deliverer. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who guardest thy people Israel for ever.

And the congregation responds:

Blessed be JHWH for evermore. Amen, and Amen. Blessed be JHWH out of Zion, who dwelleth in Jerusalem, praise ye JHWH. Blessed be JHWH God, the God of Israel, who alone doeth great wonders; and blessed be his glorious Name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, and Amen. Let the glory of JHWH endure for ever; let JHWH rejoice in his works. Let the Name of JHWH be blessed from henceforth and for ever. For JHWH will not forsake his people for his great Name's sake; because it has pleased him to make you a people unto himself. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said, JHWH is God, JHWH is God. And JHWH shall be King over all the earth: in that day shall JHWH be One, and

.JHWH shall reign for ever and ever (Ex. 15:18, cf. Abudr., 42 B). *Out of the mouth of babes* etc., cf. Ps. 8:3. This phrase is missing in Sa. (cf. p. 27), Vitry (cf. p. 79) and in the later siddurim (cf. Singer, 99; Gaster, I, 69). But according to Abr. (p. cxi) it is found in Geniza texts. and said: Ex. 15:18. And it is said: Jer. 31:10.

Cause us . . . lie down etc. This second *beraka* of the evening service is regarded as an extension of the *Geulla*, a long *Geulla*, Ber. 4 b. direct us according to thine etc. Because the heart of man is free from wordly occupations in the night, and he contemplates plans upon his bed, we pray that God may give us good counsel, for *there are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless the counsel of JHWH, that shall stand* (Prov. 19:21, cf. Baer, 167). be thou a shield etc., Ps. 3:4. destroy the adversary: according to B. B. 16 a Satan, the evil inclination and the angel of death are one. Satan is the demon that influences man toward evil and the slanderer of mankind to God (cf. UJE, III, 533). guard our going out etc., Ps. 121:8. who guardest etc., cf. Ps. 121:4.

And the congregation responds etc. The following passage consists of Biblical verses intended to be a substitute for the *Tefilla* (Abudr. 43 A; Elb. 102, cf. Abr. cxii). The passage was ordained by the heads of the schools in Babylonia (Vitry, p. 78).

his Name One. Let thy lovingkindness, JHWH, be upon us, according as we have hoped for thee. Save us, our God, and gather us and deliver us from the nations, to give thanks unto thy holy Name, and to triumph in thy praise. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, JHWH, and they shall glorify thy Name. But we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture; we will give thanks unto thee for ever: we will recount thy praise to all generations.

Blessed be JHWH by day; blessed be JHWH by night; blessed be JHWH when we lie down; blessed be the JHWH when we rise up. For in thy hand are the souls of the living and the dead, [as it is said]: In his hand is the soul of every living thing, and the spirit of all human flesh. Into thy hand I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, JHWH, God of truth. Our God who art in heaven, assert the unity of thy Name, and establish thy kingdom over us for ever and ever.

May our eyes behold, our hearts rejoice, and our souls be glad in thy true salvation, when it shall be unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. *JHWH is King; JHWH was King; JHWH shall be King for ever and ever;* for the kingdom is thine, and to everlasting thou wilt reign in glory; for we have no other king but thee. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who reigns in his glory, constantly he will reign over us for ever and ever.

And the *sheliach sibbur* says the Kaddish.

XCII. And concerning what we said that the *sheliach sibbur* could say "Blessed" for those men who come [into the synagogue] between the sections, at the end, that he [says "Blessed"] in order that they may respond.

The Scripture verses are Ps. 89:53; 135:21; 72:18, 19; 104:31; 113:2; I Sam. 12:22; I Kings 18:39; Zech. 14:9; Ps. 33:22; I Chron. 16:35; Ps. 86:9; 79:13. Hertz remarks well: "The verses proclaim the incomparable glory, love and justice of God; supplicate for redemption, security and peace; and pray for the recognition of the Divine Unity by all peoples. Over and above the intrinsic appropriateness of the verses, they are connected by similarity of idea, as well as by identity of some word or words" (Hertz, 313; cf. Abr. cxiii). **Blessed be JHWH by day etc.**, a non-biblical passage, cf. below, ch. XCV. We do not know why this substitute for the *Tefilla* was arranged, Elb. 102.

May our eyes etc. This *beraka* at the end of the Scripture verses is a prayer for the coming of the messianic kingdom.

XCII. And concerning what we said etc. *Tur*, § 237, citing this dictum of Amr., is of a different opinion from Amr.: one should interrupt only where the fathers (the *rishonim*) have ordained it. **Between the sections:** the Scripture sections of the *Shema*.

"Blessed be JHWH who is to be blessed" and they should arrange the reciting of the *Shema* according to the ordinance of the Rabbis with two [berakot] before it and two after it. It seems right to do so and there is no reason to be anxious that there be an interruption between the *Geulla* and the *Tefilla* for after "who hast redeemed Israel" we conclude "who guardest Israel". And to those [who say] that it may be objected [we can answer] that we read in the Talmud: Since the later Rabbis ordained to say verses of praise to the Holy One, blessed be He, and prayers for mercy should also conclude "who reigneth in his glory" in the evening service, the *Geulla* cannot [anyhow] be joined to the *Tefilla*. But only in the evening service it is possible to do so; for in the morning when we stand up for the *Tefilla* immediately after "who hast redeemed Israel", it is not possible.

XCIII. And if anyone comes to the synagogue and finds the congregation standing, he should also stand. If they sit, he should sit, so that he should not appear to disregard the whole congregation. The academies ordained the following: And when they have concluded the *Tefilla* of the evening service, he says Kaddish again and they are dismissed to go to their houses. And R. Sar Shalom, president of the academy, Gaon Jacob, in the city of Mechasia said as follows: A man is allowed to fall down on his face and pray for mercy after the *Tefilla* of the evening service, even in the con-

the end: the end of the *Shema*, i. e. the end of the *beraka* "May our eyes behold" which concludes with "the King in his glory". (*Tur*, § 237, quotes Amr. as saying: "... to interrupt after he has concluded 'the King in his glory'".)

It seems right to do so and etc. In the evening service the *sheliach sibbur* does not repeat the *Tefilla* aloud, as in the morning service, because the *Tefilla* of the evening service is optional (cf. RaMBaM, HT, IX, 9). Therefore, if some persons come into the synagogue after the congregation has begun to recite the *Shema*, he may, after the concluding of the *Shema*, repeat the *Shema* from the beginning for the sake of those who came late (in order to release them from their duty). But in the morning service there should be no interruption between the *Geulla* and the *Tefilla* (cf. above, ch. XXX).

XCIII. And if anyone comes etc. This passage also occurs in Vitry, § 35, and Rashi, § 47. that he should not appear to disregard the congregation: Vitry and Rashi read: "as separating from the congregation." And R. Sar Shalom: concerning R. Sar Shalom cf. above, p. 114. to fall on his face, i. e. to pray the so-called *Tachanun*, cf. above, ch. LXV.

gregation. And this is the usage in our teacher's house in Babel, they fall down on their faces in the evening service, with the exception of the evening of the Sabbath.

And this . . . in our teacher's house in Babel: there are many different opinions concerning "our teacher's house in Babel", cf. Marx, 347 f. Marx thinks that it is the synagogue in Sura which is mentioned in the Talmud (Marx, *ibid.*).

Prayers before Retiring to Rest at Night.

XCIV. And when a man goes to sleep on his bed he should recite the *Shema*, since R. Joshua b. Levi said: Even if a man has recited the *Shema* in the synagogue, it is commanded that he should recite it upon his bed. R. Assi said: What verse [may be cited in support]? *Tremble and sin not, commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still. Selah.* When a scholar has studied the Torah the whole day, from early in the morning till late in the evening, he need not to say [the *Shema*] but he says the verse: *Into thy hand I commit my spirit* etc. And R. Isaac said: If a man recites the *Shema* upon his bed, the demons keep away from him, for it is said: *As the sparks (bene reshef) fly ('uf) upward.* The *reshef* refers only to demons, for it is written: *The wasting of hunger (meze ra'ab) and the devouring of the fiery bolt (reshef).* And the word *'uf* refers to the Torah, as it is written: *If you make fly (hataif) thine eyes upon it, it is gone.* And he reads the first section, from "Hear" to "And it shall come to pass".

XCIV. And when a man goes to sleep etc. When the evening service was moved forward to the early hours of the evening, a special private devotion was introduced directly before going to sleep, Elb. 262. Since the nucleus of this devotion is the recital of the *Shema* it is called *Qeriat Shema al ha-mitta*. Prescriptions concerning this service are given in SA, § 239. R. Joshua b. Levi said etc., Ber. 4 b. Tremble etc., Ps. 4:5. The Talmud, then, regards this verse as a command concerning the recital of the *Shema* when going to bed, Ri. (a.l.) interprets it as follows: *commune with your own heart*, i. e. say that which is written: *upon thy heart* (Deut. 6:6). *upon your bed*, as it is said: *when thou liest down, and be still*, i. e. sleep afterwards. *When a scholar . . . says the verse* etc. He need only recite Ps. 31:6 because he always repeats the Mishna (cf. Ri. a.l.). *Into thy hand* etc., Ps. 31:6. In Ber. 5 a this verse is termed "a verse of mercy", i. e. a verse containing a prayer for God's mercy. *And R. Isaac* etc., Ber. 5 a. *If a man recites the Shema* etc. Three verses, Job. 5:7; Deut. 32:24 and Prov. 23:5 are here used to prove that the evil spirits keep away from a man who recites the *Shema* on his bed. Many prayers for warding off demoniac influences have found their place in the Jewish liturgy. "Most of the prayers to be recited before retiring are intended to guard the sleeper against demons" (JE, IV, 520). *bene reshef*, Job 5:7, is in Ber. 5 a interpreted to mean evil spirits, and *uf* is interpreted to mean the Torah. *Wilt thou set . . . it is gone*, i. e. if you neglect the Torah you will soon forget it (cf. Ri. a.l.). *And he reads the first section*, i. e. Deut. 6:4—9.

XCV. And he recites the *beraka*:

Blessed be thou, JHWH, our God, King of the universe, who makest the bands of sleep to fall upon my eyes and lettest down deep sleep on my eyelids and rest upon the apple of the eye. Keep me as the apple of the eye. May it be thy will, JHWH, my God, to suffer me to lie down in peace and let me rise up again in peace. And give me my portion in thy Torah and make me familiar with that which concerns the commandment and not with that which concerns transgression, and lead me not into sin or into temptation or shame, and may the good inclination have sway over me. And let not evil dreams trouble me, and let my couch be perfect before thee. Lighten my eyes lest I sleep the sleep of death. Blessed be thou, JHWH, who givest light to the whole world in thy glory.

And he says:

Blessed be JHWH by day; blessed be JHWH by night; blessed be JHWH when we lie down; blessed be JHWH when we rise up.

XCV. And he recites etc. This *beraka* occurs in Ber. 60 b but the version of Amr. is somewhat briefer than that of Ber. 60 b. There is a correspondence between this *beraka* and the *beraka* recited when awakening in the morning, cf. above, ch. I. The difference is, that in the morning a man thanks God that he has removed the bonds of sleep, but at night he thanks God that he causes the bonds of sleep to fall upon his eyes. **Blessed . . . who makest the bands of sleep to fall upon my eyes:** "This phrase may be a metaphorical picture of sleep being let down with loosened cords as the eyelids fall over the sleeper's eyes. Or the idea may be that the bands of sleep fall on the whole body, which lies fettered in slumber; most noticeably the bands fall on the eyes, and these are referred to as part of the whole" (Abr., ccxiv, cf. Baer, 573). **the bonds of sleep:** the expression may have been formed in accordance with a phrase in Esth. 1:6 (cf. Baer, 573). **as the apple of the eye**, Ps. 17:8. **And let not evil dreams trouble me:** concerning dreams, cf. above, ch. LXXIII. **and let my couch be perfect before thee**, "that there may be no bastard and no offender among my descendants" (Ri. on Ber. 60 b). **lest I sleep etc.**, Ps. 13:4.

And he says etc. After the *beraka* a man should say "verses referring to God's mercy, e. g. 'Blessed be JHWH by day; blessed by night' etc. and e. g. 'And JHWH said to Satan' etc.; 'JHWH shall keep thee from all evil' etc.; 'Into thy hand' etc. and the Priestly Blessing." (*Col Bo*, § 29). **Blessed be JHWH by day etc.** (cf. above, ch. XCI). *Tur* observes that this passage occurs in this place in Amr. (*Tur*, § 239). It does not occur in Sa. (cf. Sa. 87) and not in the Sephardic siddurim (cf. Gaster, I, 76 f) but it is found in the Ashkenazic rite (cf. Singer, 295). Baer (574) refers to *Tur* and Abudarham as sources where it is found, but he seems not to have noticed that it occurs

And JHWH said unto Satan: JHWH rebuke thee etc. JHWH shall keep thee from all evil; he shall keep thy soul. JHWH shall guard thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forth and for ever. Into thy hand I commit my spirit etc. JHWH bless thee and keep thee etc.

XCVI. R. Joshua b. Levi used to say *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High*, and fell asleep. The Rabbis taught: The song referring to [the protection from] evil spirits [was sung] with citherns and timbrels and lyres. And which is the song referring to evil spirits? *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High* to *For thou hast made JHWH who is my refuge etc.* And one says: *JHWH, how many are my adversaries became! Many are they that rise up against me to Salvation belongeth unto JHWH.* And Joshua b. Levi arranged these verses and fell asleep. But we object: How could he do so? Did not R. Joshua b. Levi say: It is forbidden to employ the words of the Torah as a remedy. Protection is a different matter. And it is written in the Midrash: In the moment when Moses went up to heaven he used to say this psalm *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High.*

in Amr. And JHWH said etc., Zech. 3:2. According to Ber. 51 a this verse may be recited as a protection against death. JHWH shall keep thee etc., Ps. 121:8. In thy hand etc., Ps. 31:6.

XCVI. R. Joshua b. Levi etc., Shebu. 15 b. used to say, when he went to sleep at night (Ri. a. l.). *He that dwelleth etc.*, Ps. 91:1. The Rabbis taught, Shebu. 15 b. M. Shebu. II, 2 prescribes that no space should be added to the [Holy] City or to the Temple save by the decision of a king etc. and with the bringing of two thank-offerings "and with singing". Shebu. 15 b explains that the singing was accompanied by citherns etc. and that among other psalms Ps. 91 was sung. In Shebu. 15 b this psalm is called *Shir shel pegaim*, i. e. the song referring to evil spirits, with the explanation that it is called so because of v. 7: *A thousand may fall at thy side.* The Midrash interprets this verse to mean that God gives a thousand angels to protect a man on his left side, and ten thousand to protect him on his right side, cf. Midr. Tehillim XVII, 8; XCI, 4. *He that dwelleth etc.*, Ps. 91:1—9. And one says etc., Ps. 3:2. And it is written in the Midrash: Midr. Tehillim XCI, 1.

Supplications and Order for Reading of the Torah on Monday and Thursday.

XCVII. And on the second and the fifth day of the week, when the *sheliach sibbur* concludes the eighteen [berakot] the congregation commences:

XCVII—XCVIII. These chapters contain the supplications for the second and the fifth day of the week, cf. Elb. 77. These prayers are designated *selichot* ("pardonings", "forgivenesses"), cf. Elb. 221 ff. The *selicha* "is the product of the Scriptures, rooted in Biblical poetry, language, meter, and form. Not only are language and style borrowed from the Bible, but also expressions, refrains, and whole phrases, even paragraphs were incorporated into the *selicha* literature" (Idelsohn, 43). Even the idea of *selicha* is Biblical (Ps. 130:4). According to the Talmud God himself taught Moses the *selichot* enumerated in Ex. 34:6—7. God said to Moses: "Whenever Israel sins they should do according to this order (i. e. recite this text) and I will forgive them", R. H. 17 b, cf. Elb. 221 ff.

XCVII. And on the second and the fifth day of the week etc. Mondays and Thursdays were, from of old, days of fasting, Elb. 76 f.; Billerbeck, II, 242 ff. The Pharisee fasted "twice in the week", Luke 18:12. As appears from the liturgy of the fast days the main object of fasting is "to give outward expression to the mortification caused by sin and backsliding, in contrition of heart, self-chastisement, self-abnegation, and meekness, and to appeal to God's mercy and forgiveness" (Gaster, ERE, XI, 27).

Mondays and Thursdays were also market-days and court days, Elb. 77. On this account lessons from the Scriptures were read on those days, Elb. 77. There are, then, different reasons for the enlargement of the liturgy on these days.

God has promised to forgive men their sins, and he has shown them the way that leads to forgiveness. "Er hat sie das *Bussgebet* gelehrt, das niemals ungehört verhallt; auf das Wort 'Hilf, o Gott' antwortet er, so oft wir ihn anrufen (Ps. 20:10). Solche Gebete um Verzeihung nennt der Midrash *sidre selicha* (T. d. B. El. S., p. 42); dadurch wurde der Ausdruck *Selicha* in das Gebiet des Gebets übertragen. Besonders die *drei-zehn Eigenschaften*, *shelosh esre middot*, die Mose bei der Überreichung der zweiten steinernen Tafeln geoffenbart wurden (Ex. 34:6, 7), führen den Namen *seder selicha*; sie sind ein altes Erbgut und, wie ihre häufige Anführung in den biblischen Schriften

Though our iniquities testify against us, work thou, JHWH, for thy name's sake, for our backslidings are many, and we have sinned against thee, forgive us. If thou, JHWH, shouldest mark iniquities, JHWH, who could stand? But with thee there is forgiveness, that thou mayest be feared. Spare, JHWH, thy people Israel, and give not thine inheritance over to reproach, that the nations should not make a by-word of them. Why should they say among the nations: Where is their God? We know that we have sinned, and there is none to stand up in our behalf to atone for us. But let thy great Name stand up in our behalf in the time of trouble. We know that we have no righteous works, deal with us for thy name's sake. And as a father hath compassion upon his children, have compassion upon us and save us. Verily, our God, our offences are many, there is no end and no number of our sins. O Merciful, have mercy upon us, and remember unto us the covenant of our fathers. Remember thy servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to its wickedness, nor to its sin. Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. And remove from us the yoke of the nations for thou art merciful, for such is thy way—to liberate, to rescue, to redeem and to save throughout every generation.

And the *sheliach sibbur* says, and the congregation with him:

O God, thou hast taught us to recite the thirteen; remember for us to-day the thirteen which thou madest known to the Humble one before thee from of old; as it is written: *And he came down in a cloud, and he stood with them there, and proclaimed the name of JHWH*, and there it is said:

zeigt, stark verbreitet gewesen", Elb. 221 f. Cf. the quotation above from R. H. 17 b. "In Bezug auf die dreizehn Eigenschaften ist ein Bund geschlossen (*berit keruta lishlosh esre middot*), dass sie nicht wirkungslos bleiben (R. H. 17 b). Diese Auffassung des Talmuds erklärt es, dass die dreizehn Eigenschaften der Kern aller Gebete um Sündenvergebung wurden, sie bilden noch heute den ständig wiederkehrenden Refrain aller Bussgebete", Elb. 222. The Bible text, Ex. 34:6,7, could not be recited in prayer as it stands without appearing abrupt. It was given an introduction which gives the reason for the use of the thirteen attributes in the prayer in the spirit of the Talmud: "O, God, thou hast taught us to recite the thirteen" etc., cf. Elb. 222.

Though our iniquities etc., Jer. 14:7. If thou etc., Ps. 130:3, 4. Spare, JHWH, etc., Joel 2:17. Turn from thy fierce wrath etc., Ex. 32:12.

Most phrases in this prayer are found in *Vehu Rachum*, the penitential prayer now used on Mondays and Thursdays, cf. Baer, 112 ff.; Singer, 57 ff.; Gaster, I, 41 ff.

O God, thou hast taught us to recite the thirteen etc. The number thirteen is thus derived in somewhat different ways, cf. Dembitz, 169; Idelsohn, 357. the Humble one, i. e. Moses, cf. Num. 12:3.

And the *sheliach sibbur* says:

And JHWH passed by him and proclaimed: JHWH, JHWH etc. forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty.

And the *sheliach sibbur* says:

And forgive us our guilt and sins and take us as thine inheritance. Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, our King, for we have transgressed, for thou, JHWH, art good and forgiving and of great mercy unto all who call upon thee. For thy name's sake, JHWH, pardon mine iniquity for it is great, for there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared. *Pardon the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and according as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now.* And JHWH said: 'I have pardoned according to thy word.'

And the *sheliach sibbur* says:

Our God, and the God of our fathers, let our prayer come before thee, and hide not thyself from our supplication, for our backslidings are too many to be counted and our offences more than can be told, but we are not arrogant and stiff-necked according to this word that we should say before thee, JHWH, our God, and the God of our fathers that we are righteous and have not sinned.

And the congregation responds:

But we have sinned, we have trespassed, we have been faithless, we have robbed, we have spoken basely, we have committed iniquity, he have wrought unrighteousness, we have been presumptuous, we have done violence, we have forged lies, we have counselled evil, we have spoken falsely, we have scoffed, we have revolted, we have blasphemed, we have rebelled, we have done wrong, we have transgressed, we have persecuted, we have been stiff-necked, we have done wickedly, we have corrupted ourselves, we have

And forgive us etc., Ex. 34:9. For thy name's sake etc., Ps. 25:11. for there is forgiveness etc., Ps. 130:4. Pardon etc., Num. 14:19, 20.

Our God etc. This prayer forms an introduction to the confession of sin, cf. Elb. 150. Let our prayer etc., cf. Ps. 88:3. and hide not thyself etc., cf. Ps. 55:2. but we are not arrogant: we are not insolent so that we say before thee that we are righteous, and we are not stiffnecked so that we say before thee that we have not sinned, but we confess before thee that we have sinned (Baer, 414). But we have sinned etc. This

committed abomination, we have led astray, we have turned aside from thy commandments and from thy good judgements, and it hath profited us nought. But thou art righteous in all that is come upon us; for thou hast acted truthfully, but we have wrought unrighteousness.

XCVIII. And there are some who, instead of "If our sins", say:

And now, JHWH, our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand etc.

O God, thou hast taught us to recite the thirteen, as we have written above.

And they fall down on their faces and make petition for their needs. The *sheliach* says:

M:

Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and return in mercy to the remnant of Israel, and save us for thy name's sake. Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and let the captives return, God of Jacob, and save us for thy name's sake.

We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator. Lord of mercy, who dwellest on high, who art full of mercy unto them who confess

O:

Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and return in mercy to the remnant of Israel, and save us for thy name's sake. Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and let the captives return, O God of Jacob, and save us for thy name's sake.

We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator. Lord of mercy, who dwellest on high, who art full of mercy unto them who confess

S:

Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and return in mercy to the remnant of Israel, and save us for thy name's sake. Remember the covenant of Abraham, and the binding of Isaac and let the captives return, God of Jacob.

We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator. Lord of mercy, who dwellest on high, who art full of mercy unto them who confess and say before thee: We have

alphabetical confession of sin consists of 24 different expressions of guilt. Its introductory sentence is declared in Joma 87 b to be the essential phrase of the confession.

XCVIII. And now etc., Dan. 9:15—19. And they fall down etc., to pray the so-called *Tachanun*, cf. above, ch. LXV.

Remember etc., cf. Davidson, II, 212 (No. 115). This prayer is also found in the Italian rite, Elb. 78. Like the following passage ("We have sinned") it is used on fast-days, Elb. 78.

M:

and say before thee: We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator, we have sinned by a multitude of sins, and we come to entreat favour before thee, God who forgivest sin. We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator. We have sinned with wickedness and rebellion, and we come before thee, who forgivest sin. We have sinned before thee and come to supplicate, hide not thy face from us, from those who say before thee: We have sinned. We have sinned etc. Have pity on thy people and have mercy upon thine inheritance. Spare according to the greatness of thy mercy. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King. Our Father, thy name is from eternity to eternity. In thee did our fathers trust, our King, unto thee they cried and were delivered. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King, behold and answer, O God of our salvation, and cause thy face to shine upon us and we shall be saved, our King, for thou hast

O:

to them who confess and say before thee: We have sinned. We have sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator, we have sinned by a multitude of sins, and we come to entreat favour before thee, God who forgivest sin, saying: We have sinned. We have sinned before thee and come to supplicate, hide not thy face from us, from them who say before thee: We have sinned.

Have pity on thy people and have mercy upon thine inheritance. Spare according to the greatness of thy mercy. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King. Our Father, thy name is from eternity to eternity. In thee did our fathers trust, our King, unto thee they cried and were delivered. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King, behold and answer, O God of our salvation, and cause thy face to shine upon us and we shall be saved, our King, for thou hast been called a God merciful and gracious. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King.

S:

sinned, our Rock, forgive us, our Creator, we have sinned by a multitude of sins, and we come before thee, God who forgivest sin. We have sinned with wickedness and rebellion and come before thee, who forgivest wickedness, saying: We have sinned with all our limbs, and we come, our Rock, our Creator who knowest our inclination, saying: We have sinned before thee and we come to supplicate before thee. Hide not thy face from us, from those who say before thee: We have sinned. Have pity on thy people and have mercy upon thy inheritance. Spare according to the greatness of thy mercy. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King. Our Father, our King, thy name is from eternity to eternity. In thee did our fathers trust, our King, unto thee they cried and were delivered. Be gracious unto us, and answer us, God of our salvation, and cause thy face to shine upon us and we shall be saved, for thou art a

M:

been called a merciful and gracious God. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King.

Let our prayer come before thee for ever, listen and hearken and be gracious, our King. Receive our supplication in mercy and in favour, have pity and answer us, our King. Answer us, our Father, answer and save us. As thou didst answer Abraham on mount Moriah, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer Isaac on the altar, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer Jacob in the time of his trouble, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer all the righteous in the time of their trouble, so answer us and save us.

Life we have asked from thee, for with thee is the fountain of life. Deal in righteousness with us for thy name's sake. And put away pestilence, plague, sword, and murder and famine from thy people. We pray for mercy from thee, for thy mercy is great. Deal with us in righteousness for thy name's sake, and put away pestilence, plague, sword, murder, plague of wild beasts, evil inclination, hate without a cause, all hard decrees, the sword of the heathen, persecution, famine and all sorts

O:

Let our prayer come before thee for ever, listen and hearken and be gracious, our King.

Receive our supplication in mercy and in favour, our Father, have pity and answer us, our King. Answer us, our Father, answer and save us. As thou didst answer Abraham, our father, on mount Moriah, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer Isaac on the altar, so answer us and save us.

Life we have asked from thee, for with thee is the fountain of life.

Deal in righteousness with us for thy name's sake. And put away pestilence, plague, sword, and murder and famine from thy people. We pray for mercy from thee, for thy

mercy is great. Deal with us in righteousness for thy name's sake, and put away pestilence, plague, sword, murder, plague of wild beasts, evil inclination, hate without a cause, all hard decrees, the sword of the heathen, persecution, famine and all sorts

S:

God, King, gracious and merciful. Be gracious unto us and answer us, our King.

Let our prayer come before thee for ever, listen and hearken and be gracious, our King. Receive our prayer in mercy and in favour, have pity and answer us, our King. Answer us, our Father, answer and save us. As thou didst answer Abraham on mount Moriah, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer Isaac on the altar, so answer us and save us.

Life we have asked from thee, for with thee is the fountain of life.

Deal in righteousness with us for thy name's sake. And put away pestilence, plague, sword, plague of wild beasts, idolatry, evil inclination, hate without a cause, all hard decrees, the sword of the heathen, persecution, famine and all sorts

Let our prayer etc. A prayer used on the Day of Atonement, Elb. 150, cf. Baer, 414.
for with thee is the fountain etc., Ps. 36:10.

M:

murder from thy people. We pray for mercy from thee, for thy mercy is great. Deal in righteousness with us for thy name's sake, and put away sword, pestilence, plague, murder, plague of wild beasts, [exile and persecution?], evil inclination, hate without a cause, all hard decrees, the sword of the heathen, persecution and all sorts of evil dispensation from thy people. Our Father, merciful Father, save us for thy name's sake. Our God, and the God of our Fathers, in thee we have trusted, let us not be ashamed, and save us for thy name's sake.

Accept our prayers, and may thy name be magnified in greatness. We have sought after thee, grant that we may find thee, and save us for thy name's sake. Accept our prayer today in the wealth of thy mercy, and put us not to shame in our hope, remember thy mercy

O:

cause, all hard decrees, the sword of the heathen, persecution and all sorts of evil dispensation from thy people. Our Father, merciful Father, save us for thy name's sake. Our God, and the God of our Fathers, in thee we have trusted, let us not be ashamed, and save us for thy name's sake. Our God, and the God of our fathers, in thee we have trusted, let us not be ashamed, save us for thy name's sake.

Accept our prayer today in the wealth of thy mercy, and put us not to shame in our hope and save us for thy name's sake. Thou art good and doest good unto those who hope in thee, let thy mercy subdue thine indignation toward us, and save us for thy name's sake. Forgive us all our iniquities, support us, and we will be saved unto thee, and save us for thy name's sake. Answer us in the time of our troubles. This is a

S:

of evil dispensation from thy people.

Our Father, merciful Father, save us for thy name's sake. Our God, and the God of our Fathers, in thee we have trusted, let us not be ashamed, and save us for thy name's sake. Thou art great, and thy name is great in majesty. We have sought thee, our God, be thou found of us, and save us for thy name's sake.

Accept our prayer in the wealth of thy mercy, and put us not into shame in our hope, save us. Remember thy mercy which has been from of old. Have mercy upon us, as a father on his sons, and save us for thy name's sake. Thou art good and doest good unto those who hope in thee, let thy mercy subdue thine indignation toward us, and save us. Make not a full end of our remnant, let us not be ashamed of our supplications and save us. Cast us not

merciful Father. As appears from the context *rachaman* here is used in the sense "forgiving" (cf. Abrahams: Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, II, 166). We have sought after thee etc., II Chron. 15:4.

M:

which has been from of old. Have mercy upon us, as a father on his sons, and save us for thy name's sake. Thou art good and doest good unto those who hope in thee, let thy mercy subdue thine indignation towards us, and save us for thy name's sake. Make not a full end of our remnant, let us not be ashamed of our supplications and save us for thy name's sake. Cast us not away from thy presence. Answer us with wondrous works in righteousness, God of our salvation, and save us for thy name's sake. Forgive all our iniquities, support us, and we will be saved unto thee, and save us for thy name's sake. Answer us in the time of trouble, this is a time of trouble, save us for thy name's sake. Hide not thy face from us, redeem us and rescue us from all our troubles, and save us for thy name's sake.

Thou, JHWH, art righteous and lovest righteousness, do righteousness with us and justify us, save us for thy

O:

time of trouble, and thou art able to save. Save us for thy name's sake. Forgive all our iniquities, support us, and unto thee we will be saved for thy name's sake. Answer us in the time of trouble, this is a time of trouble, and thou art able to save. Save us for thy name's sake. Hide not thy face from us, redeem us and rescue us from all our troubles, and save us for thy name's sake.

Thou, JHWH, art righteous and lovest righteousness, do righteousness with us, and raise righteousness on high, hear our voice, be gracious, have mercy upon us, JHWH, our God, for we have much trouble. For thy name's sake receive in favour our petition, fulfil it in mercy, save us for thy name's sake. Let our prayer come up to the dwelling place of thy name, let our prayer find grace and kindness and mercy and favour before thee, and save us for thy name's sake, for we have no other God, King, Redeemer, Helper, Saviour, Deliverer and

S:

away from thy presence. Answer us with wondrous works in righteousness, God of our salvation, and save us. Forgive our iniquities, support us, and we will be saved unto thee, and save us. Answer us in the time of our troubles. This is a time of trouble, and thou art able to save, save us.

Thou, JHWH, art righteous and lovest righteousness, deal with us in righteousness and let our righteousness come up on high. Hear our voice, be gracious. Have mercy upon us, JHWH, our God, for we have much trouble. Receive in favour our cry, soon fulfil our prayer in mercy and save us.

Let our prayer come up to the dwelling place of thy name. Let our prayer find grace and kindness and mercy and favour before thee. Save us, for we have no other God, King, Redeemer, Helper, Saviour, Deliverer and Rescuer in every time of trouble and distress but thee. Save us, Our Father,

M:

name's sake. Raise our voice on high, hear, be gracious have mercy upon us, our God, for we have much trouble. Receive in favour our cry, soon fulfil our prayer, and save us for thy name's sake. Let our cry come up to the residence of thy name. May it find favour and grace and mercy and goodwill before thee, and save us for thy name's sake, for we have no other God, King, Redeemer, Helper, Saviour, Deliverer, and Rescuer in every time of trouble and distress but thee. Save us for thy name's sake. Our merciful Father, Save us for thy name's sake.

G:

Rescuer in every time of trouble and distress but for thy name's sake. thee. Save us for thy name's sake. Our Father,

S:

merciful Father, save us for thy name's sake.

And he says:

JHWH answer thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob etc.

And the *chazzan* stands and says:

Our Father, our King etc.

And he says:

We do not know what we should say etc., as it is written above.

And he recites the Kaddish to "though he be high above".

JHWH answer etc., Ps. 20:2. Our Father etc., cf. above, ch. LXV. We do not know etc., cf. above, ch. LXV. the Kaddish, i.e. the so-called Half-Kaddish.

XCIX. And he commences and says:

For great art thou and doest wonders, thou art God, thou alone. Our God is one, our Lord is holy, and fearful his name.

And he takes the book of Torah from the ark and says:

O magnify JHWH with me, and let us exalt his name together.

And the congregation responds:

Exalt ye JHWH our God, and prostrate yourselves at his footstool; holy is he. Exalt ye JHWH our God, and worship at his holy mount; for JHWH our God is holy. Save, JHWH, let the King answer us in the day that we call.

And the sheliach sibbur says:

For I will proclaim the name of JHWH, ascribe ye greatness unto our God. From now and for ever, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same the name of JHWH is to be praised. Praised, I cry, is JHWH, and I am saved from mine enemies.

And they say:

XCIX—C. These chapters deal with the reading of the Torah on Mondays and Thursdays. Cf. Elb. 155 ff.; Elbogen: Torah, the reading of (UJE, X, 273 ff.). The rules for reading of the Torah in the synagogue service are found in RaMBaM, HT, XII, XIII; Tur, § 135—149; SA, § 135—149. It was taught that Moses prescribed the public reading of the Torah, and that Ezra gave additional precepts regarding this reading. "Moses, our teacher, ordained that they should read the Torah publicly on the Sabbath, and on the second and fifth day of the week in the morning service, so that three days should not elapse without hearing the Torah. And Ezra, the scribe, ordained that the Torah should be read at the afternoon service every Sabbath, for the sake of those who spend the day in vacuity. He also ordained that on the second and fifth days of the week, three persons should be called to read out of the Torah and that they should read not less than three verses each", RaMBaM, HT, XII, 1. The reading of the Torah is preceded by passages—mainly from the Scriptures—which are read in honour of the Torah, cf. Elb. 198 ff.

For great art thou etc., Ps. 86:10. One is our God etc. This passage also occurs in the tractate Soferim, XIV, 9, 10, cf. Baer, 223; Elb. 199. Magnify etc., Ps. 34:4. Exalt ye etc., Ps. 99:5, 9. Save JHWH etc., Ps. 20:10. For I will proclaim etc., Deut. 32:3. from the rising of sun etc., Ps. 113:3. Praised etc., Ps. 18:4. From one end of

From one end of the world to the other, JHWH, the God of Israel reigns and his kingdom ruleth over all. And he shall reign over us for ever and ever, and all the people say, Amen. May all ascribe greatness to our God and render honour to the Torah.

A priest reads from the Torah: Mr So and So, the priest! But if there is no priest present the *chazzan* says: Somebody should rise instead of the priest. And an Israelite goes up. And the congregation responds:

The Torah of JHWH is perfect, restoring the soul: the testimony of JHWH is faithful, making wise the simple. The precepts of JHWH are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of JHWH is pure, enlightening the eyes. The God of Israel is one. JHWH will give strength unto his people. JHWH will bless his people with peace.

C. And the priest goes up and reads three verses from the section of that week. And the Levite goes up after him and reads three verses. If no Levite is present the priest reads instead of the Levite. And the Israelite still goes up and reads four verses, and they should not read less than ten verses [altogether], and [the verse] *And JHWH said* is counted in the number. But if he will add [verses] he may do it, for we may promote a thing to a higher grade of sanctity but must not degrade. And he rolls up the scroll and when folding it he says:

the world etc. A non-scriptural passage, not mentioned by Elb. or Davidson. **and his kingdom**, cf. Ps. 103:19. **ascribe greatness** etc., cf. Deut. 32:3.

A priest reads etc. When reading the Torah in the Synagogue service a priest (i. e. a descendant of Aaron) reads the first section. He is followed by a Levite, and he, in turn, is followed by an Israelite (i. e. a layman), SA, § 135:3. As pointed out above (p. 136) *qara* is the technical term for reading from the Torah at public services.

The Torah etc., Ps. 19:8, 9. **JHWH will give** etc., Ps. 29:11.

C. And the priest etc. Not less than three persons must be called to the reading of the Torah, and a minimum of ten verses must be read, cf. Meg. IV, 1; 21 b; RaMBaM, HT, XII, 3. and [the verse] etc. This frequently occurring verse is counted among the ten although it does not contain anything instructive (Ri. on Meg. 21 b). **for we may promote** etc., cf. Jastrow, 1081.

According to the Mishna a *beraka* is recited before the reading of the Torah and one after it, Meg. IV, 1, 2. It seems strange that these *berakot* do not occur in Amr.

On Mondays and Thursdays the Torah lesson which belongs to the following Sabbath is read, Meg. 31 b, cf. SA, 135:2. (As regards the cycles within which the Torah was read in Palestine and in Babylonia, cf. Elb. 157 ff.)

May it be the will of Heaven to establish the House of our life, and to restore his Divine Presence in it, speedily in our days; and say ye, Amen.

May it be the will of Heaven to have mercy upon our remnant and to ward off plague and destruction from us and from all his people Israel; and say ye, Amen.

May it be the will of Heaven to preserve for us all the wise men of Israel, them, their sons and their disciples in Israel, in every place of their habitation.

May it be the will of Heaven that good tidings be heard and published from the four corners of the world; and say ye, Amen.

He who blessed Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, our fathers, may he bless all our brethren and our sisters, the children of Israel who go into the synagogues for the *Tefilla* and for the giving of alms, may the Holy One, blessed be He, hear the voice of their prayer and do what they desire and fulfil their request with good; and say ye, Amen.

Our brethren of Israel and the princes of Israel who are given over to trouble or captivity, may the Holy One, blessed be He, have mercy upon them, and have compassion with them for his great name's sake, and bring them out from trouble to relief and from darkness to light; and say ye, Amen.

May thy grace, JHWH, be upon us according as we have waited for thee.

And he stands, returns the scroll of the Torah to its place and says:

Let them praise the name of JHWH; for his name alone is exalted.

His majesty is above the earth and heaven. And he hath lifted up a horn for his people, a praise for all his saints, even for the children of Israel, a people near unto him. Praise ye JHWH.

when folding it he says: when the scroll of the Torah is being prepared to be returned to the ark, some prayers for the community of Israel are recited, Elb. 202. All of them begin with "May it be the will" etc. (cf. Singer, 69 f.). Baer (124) observes that these passages occur in Amr. the will of heaven: MS. Ø reads "the will of the God of heaven" (but Fr., 398, erroneously reads "Our Father which art in heaven"). Ashkenazic siddurim read: "the will of our Father in heaven". (These passages are not found in the Sephardic siddurim, cf. Gaster, I, 47). his Divine Presence, cf. Ex. 25:8. good tidings, cf. Is. 52:7. May thy grace etc., Ps. 33:22. Let them praise etc., Ps. 148:13, 14.

Klausner (Jesus of Nazareth, p. 387) states that "Our Father which art in heaven" is a Jewish expression "found in many prayers". But this expression is really not usual in Jewish prayers which is clearly seen from the prayer texts given in Amr. (cf. also above, notes on ch. VII [end]). "One ancient prayer, said on Mondays and Thursdays before

CI. And as to the question regarding the recital of the Kaddish: there are those who hold the opinion that it should be recited after the reading of the scroll of the Torah, immediately before it is rolled up, and there are some who hold the opinion that it should be recited after the scroll has been returned to its place. And it is logical [to recite it] after the reading from the scroll of the Torah, for what reason is there for reciting the Kaddish and afterwards commence with "Happy [are they etc.]". And he says: "Happy are they that dwell in thy house", "A redeemer shall come to Zion", "And as for me, this is my covenant with them", "But thou art holy", "And one cried unto the other", "And they receive permission", "Then a wind lifted me up", [and finally the Kaddish beginning], "Magnified", [and inserting] "May [the prayers etc.] be accepted", "May there be [abundant] peace", [and concluding] "He who maketh peace".

CII. They asked before R. Natronai Gaon (the remembrance of the righteous man be a blessing): If a man comes to the synagogue and finds the congregation praying but he has not yet recited the "Passages of Song", should he engage himself with the congregation in the work which he finds them doing, if, for instance, he finds them beginning the work of the reciting of the *Shema*, and then after he has concluded his prayer, should

returning the Scroll of the Law to the Ark, begins four times with the introductory clause: 'May it be thy will, O our Father which art in heaven'" (Klausner, ibid.). Klausner then refers to "*Siddur Rab Amram Gaon*, ed. Frumkin, Jerusalem 1912, p. 158" (ibid., note 58). But the reference is wrong since the prayer referred to is found on p. 387. And the reading quoted by Klausner is not found in MS. Q but is due to an error of Frumkin (cf. above). The reading "Our Father which art in heaven" seems to be found only in printed siddurim (cf. Davidson II, 316 [no. 1288]).

CI. And as to the question etc. There are, then, two opinions regarding the recital of the Kaddish. According to one opinion it should be recited immediately after the reading of the Torah, but according to the opinion of Amr. it should not be recited until the end of the service, after the recital of the *Ashre* (Ps. 84:5; 144:15, cf. Singer, 71) and *Qedusha de sidra*. for what is the reason etc., since the Kaddish is used as a conclusion of the whole service, cf. Elb. 92. "May [the prayers]" etc., i.e. the so-called Full-Kaddish.

CII. They asked before R. Natronai etc. Amr. again quotes a responsum of R. Natronai, cf. above, notes on ch. I. and finds the congregation praying: as appears

he go back and recite the "Passages of Song"? And he answered thus: When the sages ordained [the prayers] they ordained, that the "Passages of Song" should be said [first], and that one should pray afterwards, since R. Simlai explained: A man should always first recount the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He, and then pray. And if he sees the congregation praying the *Tefilla* and they do not wait: [as regards this case] we have heard from R. Moses Gaon, (his remembrance be a blessing!) that he recites the *beraka*: "King extolled with praises" and says the first section and passes over and says: "Praise God in his sanctuary" and concludes and hastens and prays with the congregation. But to say the "Passages of Song" after the *Tefilla*: it is a disgrace to say praise after the *Tefilla*. And if he has no opportunity at all even to do as we have explained, he should not say [the "Passages of Song"] after the *Tefilla*, for when they ordained them they did not ordain to say them after the *Tefilla* but before it.

CIII. And [as regards] the recital of *JHWH answer thee in the day of trouble* in the *Qedusha de sidra* he answered: When the sages said, "Everyone who says daily the Psalm of Praise of David", they did not say twice or three times, and this proves: even once. But the later sages ordained for Israel that in the cities they should say it in the "Passages of Song", and in the [*Qedusha de*] *sidra*, and in the afternoon service, perhaps they pass over

from the context, *hitpallel* is used here about the *Shema* and the *Tefilla*. since R. Simlai etc., Ber. 32 a. and they do not tarry, so that he is able to recite the "Passages of Song". R. Moses Gaon, cf. above, p. 25. "King extolled with praises": the concluding prase of "Blessed be he who spake", the *beraka* recited before the "Passages of Song", cf. above, ch. IX. the first section, i. e. Ps. 145. and passes over, the Pss. 146—149. "Praise God" etc., i. e. Ps. 150. And if he has no opportunity at all etc., SA, § 152, prescribes that if a man comes too late in the service to be able to recite even Pss. 145, 148, 150 and the *berakot* of the "Passages of Song" before the congregation recites the *Shema* and prays the *Tefilla*, he should recite the "Passages of Song" after the *Tefilla* but not recite the *berakot* belonging to them.

CIII. This chapter contains a responsum by R. Natronai regarding verses to be recited in connection with the *Qedusha de sidra*. Verses referring to salvation were said in connection with the *Qedusha de sidra* (cf. *Tur*, § 131; Fr. 400). Some used to recite Ps. 20, but others held that Ps. 145 should be said here. *JHWH answer thee* etc., Ps. 20. the *Psalm of Praise* etc., Ps. 145. they did not say twice etc. Those who held that 145 should be said here have referred to the opinion that this Psalm must be said

one or two times, one time would be left, [but not] because their duty is to say it three times. The following is evidence: On the Sabbath there is no [*Qedusha de*] *sidra* in the morning service and the "Psalm of Praise of David" [is recited] only twice, and also in the *Qedusha de sidra* in both academies they say the "Psalm of Praise of David", and in our teacher's house in Babel we say the "Psalm of Praise of David", but in the other synagogues there are some who say the "Psalm of Praise of David", and there are some who say *JHWH answer thee in the day of trouble*. And they support their opinion by saying that the Sabbath serves as an analogy, since they say it only twice on the Sabbath.

three times daily (cf. above, ch. XII). R. Natronai states that the sages did not prescribe that this psalm was to be recited three times daily. R. Natronai's evidence is that on the Sabbath it could be recited only twice, since the *Qedusha de sidra* is not said in the morning service on the Sabbath.

Abbreviations.

<i>Abr.</i>	= Abrahams: A companion to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book.
<i>Abudr.</i>	Sefer Abudarham.
<i>Amr.</i>	R. Amram Gaon, Seder R. Amram.
<i>Baer</i>	Baer: Seder Abodat Israel.
<i>Berliner</i>	Berliner: Randbemerkungen zum täglichen Gebetbuche.
<i>Bert.</i>	Bertinoro's Commentary on the Mishna.
<i>BFchTh</i>	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.
<i>Billerbeck</i>	Strack-Billerbeck: Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrash.
<i>BJ</i>	Beth Joseph (Joseph Qaro's Commentary on <i>Tur</i>).
<i>BT</i>	The Babylonian Talmud.
<i>Davidson</i>	Davidson: Osar ha-Piut weha-Shira.
<i>DCG</i>	Hastings: Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.
<i>Dembitz</i>	Dembitz: Jewish Services.
<i>Dubnow</i>	Dubnow: Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes, III.
<i>Dugmore</i>	Dugmore: The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office.
<i>EJ</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica.
<i>Elb.</i>	Elbogen: Geschichte der jüdischen Gottesdienst.
<i>ERE</i>	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
<i>Fr., Frumkin</i>	Frumkin's edition of Seder R. Amram.
<i>Gaster</i>	Gaster: The Book of Prayer and Order of Service.
<i>GG</i>	Ginzberg: Geonica.
<i>Ginzberg, Legends</i>	Ginzberg: Legends of the Jews.
<i>Ginzberg, PT</i>	Ginzberg: A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud.
<i>Goldschmidt</i>	Der Babylonische Talmud neu übertragen durch L. Goldschmidt.
<i>Hertz</i>	Hertz: The Authorised Daily Prayer Book, I.
<i>Hertz, III</i>	Hertz: The Authorised Daily Prayer Book, III.
<i>HDB</i>	Hastings: Dictionary of the Bible.
<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual.
<i>Idelsohn</i>	Idelsohn: Jewish Liturgy.
<i>Jastrow</i>	Jastrow: A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.
<i>JE</i>	Jewish Encyclopaedia.
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review.
<i>Krauss, SA</i>	Krauss: Synagogale Altertümer.
<i>Krauss, TA</i>	Krauss: Talmudische Archäologie.
<i>Kuzari</i>	Sefer ha-Kuzari.
<i>Levy</i>	Levy: Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch.
<i>LXX</i>	The Septuagint.
<i>Mielziner</i>	Mielziner: Introduction to the Talmud.

<i>M</i>	= The Mishna
<i>Marx</i>	Marx: Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram.
<i>MGWJ</i>	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
<i>Moore</i>	Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era.
<i>Natr.</i>	The Geniza version of R. Natronai's responsum.
<i>N. F.</i>	Neue Folge.
<i>N. S.</i>	New Series.
<i>NT</i>	New Testament.
<i>OT</i>	Old Testament.
<i>Otzar ha-Geonim</i>	Lewin: <i>Otzar ha-Geonim</i> .
<i>PRE</i>	Realencyclopädie für protestantische Kirche und Theologie. 3 Aufl.
<i>Pool</i>	De Sola Pool: The Old Jewish Aramaic Prayer, the Kaddish.
<i>PT</i>	The Palestinian Talmud.
<i>RaMBaM</i>	R. Mose ben Maimon (Maimonides).
<i>RaMBaM, HB</i>	Maimonides: Hilkot berakot.
<i>RaMBaM, HS</i>	Maimonides: Hilkot qeriat Shema.
<i>RaMBaM, HSS</i>	Maimonides: Hilkot sissit.
<i>RaMBaM, HT</i>	Maimonides: Hilkot Tefilla.
<i>RaMBaM, HTM</i>	Maimonides: Hilkot Tefillin uMesusa.
<i>REJ</i>	Revue des études juives.
<i>Rashi</i>	Rashi's Siddur.
<i>Ri.</i>	Rashi's (R. Salomo b. Isaak) Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud.
<i>RiF</i>	R. Isaac Alfasi.
<i>SA</i>	Shulchan Aruk, Orach Chajjim.
<i>Sa.</i>	Saadia's Siddur.
<i>Simon</i>	Berakoth, translated into English by M. Simon.
<i>Singer</i>	The Authorised Daily Prayer Book . . . with a New Translation by S. Singer.
<i>Sof., Soferim</i>	The tractate Soferim.
<i>STK</i>	Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift.
<i>Strack</i>	Strack: Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch.
<i>Th. W.</i>	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neues Testament, herausg. von G. Kittel.
<i>Tos.</i>	Tosephtha.
<i>Tosaſ.</i>	Tosaphot.
<i>Tur</i>	Tur, Orach Chajjim.
<i>UJE</i>	Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia.
<i>Weiss</i>	Weiss: Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition.
<i>Vitry</i>	Machzor Vitry.
<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
<i>Zunz, GV</i>	Zunz: Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden.

The Babylonian Talmud is quoted by reference to tractate and folio, the Palestinian Talmud (ed. Krotoschin) by reference to tractate, perek and halaka.

The abbreviations of the names of the tractates are those commonly used (*vide* Jastrow, XVI—XVIII).

The letters **M**, **O**, **S** denote the MSS. of *Seder R. Amram* (cf. p. XXI f.).

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Additions and Corrections.

Page XXXIX, line 4 from above: requirement — *read*: requirements.

" " " 8 " " The 9) should be omitted.

" 3, line 9 from above: Introduction, II — *read*: Introduction, ch. II.

" 4 " 8 " below: fourth generation — *read*: third generation.

" 17 " 18-19 " above: the King — *read*: who reigneth.

" 17 " 21 " above: is to be recited — *read*: belongs to the *Shema* to be recited.

" 17 " 5 " below: akest — *read*: makest.

" 18, ch. IV. This legend occurs in Num. R. XVIII, 21. It is also found in *Vitry* (p. 3) and in *Rashi* (p. 1). The editor of *Rashi* refers to some other mediaeval sources where it occurs (ib., note 5).

" 23, line 21 from below: oer — *read*: over.

" 25 " 3 " below: and say a beraka — *read*: wash his hands.

" 30 " 1 " above: mest — *read*: meet.

" 33 " 6 " above: JHWM — *read*: JHWH.

" 33 " 8 " below: p. 6 — *read*: p. XXXIX.

" 34 " 2 " above: brackets should be omitted.

" 34 " 20 " below: Who giveth food — *read*: Thou openest thy hand.

" 35 " 2 " below: matetrs — *read*: matters.

" 39 " 6 " above: housefathers — *read*: householders.

" 39 " 9 " above: accurence — *read*: occurence.

" 43 " 11-12 " below: the clause "All these . . . 21 B" should be omitted.

" 43 " 4,5 " below: answers — *read*: responds.

" 49 " 11 " below: The Ashkenazic siddurim referred to here are, besides Singer, Baer (79, cf. also his notes, ib.), Hertz (115), Siddur Sefath Emeth (p. 35) and Tephillath Adath Yeschourun (p. 46).

" 50 col. 2, line 3 from below: to "mouth" should be added: in love.

- Page 54, line 12 from above: If is — *read*: If he is.
- „ 54 „ 18 „ above: chosen — *read*: chosen.
 - „ 54 „ 1 „ below: until — *read*: as far as.
 - „ 55 „ 12 „ above: "in the section" etc. The reference is to Ber. VIII, 1.
 - „ 58 „ 14 „ below: hem — *read*: them.
 - „ 61 „ 14 „ below: God is truth — *read*: But JHWH is the true God. (Cf. Jer. 10:10.)
 - „ 62 „ 10 „ above: brackets should be omitted.
 - „ 64 „ 9 „ above: brackets should be omitted.
 - „ 64. The lines 18—19 from above should run: must say "True" at once, because it is written: But JHWH is the true God.
 - „ 65, col. 3, last line: is the — *read*: is our King, the
 - „ 66, col. 1: between the lines 15—16 from below should be inserted: our Redeemer, and the Redeemer of our fathers.
 - „ 77 „ 9 „ below: they — *read*: then.
 - „ 81, line 5 from above: is written — *read*: is not written.
 - „ 81 „ 16 „ above: south — *read*: north; line 17: north — *read*: south.
 - „ 83 „ 17 „ above: stand in — *read*: stand up for.
 - „ 97, col. 1, line 14 from above: thee, our God — *read*: thee, JHWH, our God.
 - „ 99, line 2 from below: p. 68 — *read*: p. 70.
 - „ 104, col. 1, line 2 from above: thy kingdom — *read*: thy name in thy world, single out thy kingdom.
 - „ 104, col. 3, line 2 from below: to behold — *read*: of the days of.
 - „ 105, col. 2, line 2 from below: Torah — *read*: prayer.
 - „ 106 „ 1 „ below: one is — *read*: if he is.
 - „ 107, col. 3, line 4 from above: it — *read*: if.
 - „ 112, line 5 from above: brackets should be omitted.
 - „ 113 „ 19 „ below: p. 15 f. — *read*: 17 f.; line 21 from below: p. 91 — *read*: 93.
 - „ 114 „ 5 „ below: The reference is to Odeberg's note on 3 En. XL, 2.
 - „ 114 „ 2 „ below should run as follows: As regards the *Qedusha*, cf. above ch. XX. *Then with noise* etc. The connecting
 - „ 119 „ 10 „ above: nine and the Sabbath — *read*: two and the Sabbath.
 - „ 123 „ 3 „ above: go to — *read*: go up to.
 - „ 125 „ 8 „ below: shoulders — *read*: shoulders.
 - „ 137 „ 13 „ above: "in the time when the congregation is standing", i. e. when the congregation prays the *Tefilla*.
 - „ 137 „ 3 „ below: XLI — *read*: XCI.
 - „ 138 „ 3 „ above: they — *read*: we.
 - „ 138 „ 4 „ above: lika — *read*: like.
 - „ 140 „ 3,5 „ above and 3 from below: Mahalel — *read*: Mahalalel.
 - „ 143 „ 2 „ below: command — *read*: obligatory.
 - „ 148 „ 10 „ above: gadden — *read*: gladden.
 - „ 148 „ 6 „ below: Grant us relief — *read*: relieve us.
 - „ 150, col. 2, line 8 from below: out thy — *read*: out thy name in thy world, single out
 - „ 150, line 5 from below: petitions in — *read*: petitions differ in.

Page 152 line 17 from below: os — *read: as.*

- „ 159 „ 17 „ below: agarin — *read: again.*
 - „ 159 „ 3,6 „ below: perhaps — *read: indeed.*
 - „ 163 „ 11 „ above: och — *read: and.*
 - „ 166 „ 16 „ above: be unto — *read: be said unto.*
 - „ 170 „ 9 „ above: after "over me" should be added: and let not the evil inclination have sway over me.
 - „ 173 „ 21 „ above: the translation follows MS. O. According to the other MSS. the translation should run as follows: ". . . that the Humble one prayed before thee from of old". The *chal* refers to Ex. 32:11. The *wajchal* of this verse is in Ber. 32 a derived in different ways, with reference to prayer. Cf. also Jastrow, 40 a, 433a 456 a, 467 b, 469 b, 843 b.
 - „ 173 „ 22 „ above: This line should run as follows: as it is written: And JHWH came down in a cloud, and he stood with him.
 - „ 175, col. 1—3, lines 9—11 from above: let the captives return, God of Jacob — *read:* turn again the captivity of Jacob's tents. (Cf. Jer. 30:18.)
 - „ 177, col. 1, line 1 below: sward — *read: sword.*
 - „ 177, col. 3, line 17 from above: after "save us" should be added: As thou didst answer Isaac on the altar, so answer us and save us. As thou didst answer Jacob in the time of his trouble, so answer us and save us.
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Additions to the bibliography, pp. 190—196:

- Charles, R. H., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John. [The International Critical Commentary.] Vol. I. Edinburgh 1920.
- Oesterley, W. O. E., The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy. Oxford 1925.
- Rappoport, A. S., The Folklore of the Jews. London 1937.

Corrections in the Hebrew Text.

- P. 3, note 47, end: instead of **לְהַבְחִין בֵּין יוֹם וּבֵין לִילָה וּנְגִי** *read* חַי חַיְתָא
- „ 10, line 11 from above: instead of **רְבוֹךְ** *read* בְּרוֹךְ
- „ 13, line 6 from above: (19) should be inserted after בְּרוֹךְ
- „ 14, line 11: (37) should be placed after צָבָר, and (35) should be added after חֻותָם
- „ 20, col. 3, line 5 from above: the first word should run וְתַלְמִידָ(נִ)סָּ[מ]
- „ 26: The clause within brackets, at the end of note 67a, should be omitted.
- „ 30, note (14)—(14): the + should be omitted.
- „ 31. The note 41 should run: מְשֻׁן
- „ 35, col. 2, line 7 from below: between the two last words should be inserted לטובה
- „ 35, col. 2, line 3 from below: the hyphen between the fourth and the fifth word of this line should be placed after the last word, at the end of the line.
- „ 35, col. 3, line 1 below: instead of **וּרוֹחָה וּרוֹחָה** *read* וּרוֹחָה Ch. XXXVIII should end with the ninth beraka of the Tefilla (cf. the English translation), but owing to a printer's mistake it begins later in the Hebrew text.
- „ 37, col. 3, line 7 from above: the first word should be omitted.
- „ 38, col. 3, line 3 from above: instead of **לְצִיּוֹן** *read* לְצִיּוֹן
- „ 47: Here are two notes 94; the second of them should be omitted.
- „ 50: The note 69 b should be omitted.
- „ 57: The note 8 a should be omitted.
- „ 58, line 8 from above: the (33) should be placed after the first word of the following line.
- „ 63, line 8 from above: instead of *Jod* (for the Tetragrammaton) *read He.*
- „ 71, line 10 from above: instead of **עֲרָבִים מְעָרָבִים** *read* נֶשֶׁא שׁוֹנָא

The present edition of *Seder R. Amram* follows Frumkin's edition as regards the division into chapters, but owing to a printer's alteration after the editor's proof-reading the numbers of the chapters from ch. 34 are not the same as in Frumkin's edition. Therefore it has been necessary to give the correct numbers of these chapters in Arabic numerals, in the margin.